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A
HISTORICAL FRENCH GRAMMAR //

BY

ARSÈNE DARMESTETER

LATE PROFESSOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE
AND OF MEDIAEVAL FRENCH LITERATURE AT THE SORBONNE

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EDITED BY

ERNEST MURET AND **LÉOPOLD SUDRE**

PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GENEVA

PROFESSOR AT THE COLLÈGE STANISLAS, PARIS

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BY

ALPHONSE HARTOG

PROFESSOR OF FRENCH AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC

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CHAPTER II

ON THE PRONOUN¹

191. The different kinds of pronouns.

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191. THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF PRONOUNS.—Pronouns are words used either to denote or to qualify in special ways persons or things mentioned in speech, in their relation to the person speaking. The French pronouns, like those of other Romance languages, are derived from corresponding Latin pronouns, of which the forms and functions have been more or less modified. They are divided, according to their uses, into four classes :

- (i) Personal pronouns.
- (ii) Possessive pronouns.
- (iii) Demonstrative pronouns.
- (iv) Relative, conjunctive, and interrogative pronouns.

¹ See also p. 181.

They are *substantives* if they are used absolutely, and stand for the person or thing in question; *adjectives* if they only qualify or limit the meaning of a substantive.

Whether *substantives* or *adjectives*, they may be either *accented* or *atonic*, and in the latter case *proclitic* or *enclitic*. In Modern French, as a rule, substantive pronouns are accented and adjective pronouns are atonic.

I. Personal Pronouns.

192. PERSONAL PRONOUNS. DIVISION INTO TWO SERIES.
—Personal pronouns are divided into two series. The first contains the pronouns of the first and second persons and the *reflexive* pronoun of the third: these are the true *personal* pronouns. The second series only includes the so-called pronoun of the third person, which is an old demonstrative that has been gradually transformed into a personal pronoun.

The pronouns of the first series, like the nouns, had a complete declension in Latin:

1st pers. Sing. Nom. ego	Plur. nos
Gen. mei	nostri
Dat. mihi	nobis
Acc. me	nos
Abl. me	nobis
2nd pers. Sing. Nom. tu	Plur. vos
Gen. tui	vestri
Dat. tibi	vobis
Acc. te	vos
Abl. te	vobis
3rd pers. reflexive Sing. and Plur. Gen. sui	
	Dat. sibi
	Acc. se
	Abl. se

In Gallo-Romanic the genitives mei, tui, sui, nostri,

vestri, the datives *mihi*, *tibi*, *sibi*, *nobis*, *vobis*, and the ablatives, which were identical in form either with the corresponding accusatives (*me*, *te*, *se*) or with the corresponding datives (*nobis*, *vobis*), were lost. These pronouns had thus in the Middle Ages only a subject case and an object case, the latter serving to denote both the direct and indirect object.

The pronouns of the second series, of which we shall give the Latin declension later (§ 197), had, besides the nominative case and the case for the direct object, a case for the indirect object (*lui*, *leur*).

193. RETENTION OF THE PRONOUN-DECLENSION.—The mediaeval declension of these pronouns has been preserved down to the present day. Whilst the substantives and adjectives have lost their nominatives, and now possess only one form to denote both subject and object, the personal pronouns have preserved the form for the subject as well as that for the object. We must examine the reason for this difference of treatment.

In Latin, the persons concerned in speech were sufficiently indicated by verbal inflexions, and it was not necessary to use personal pronouns to distinguish them. *Laboro* signified *I work*; *ludis*, *thou playest*. If the personal pronouns were expressed, they served to render the idea of the subject emphatic: *ego laboro*, *tu ludis*, signified '*I work, thou playest.*' Nominatives of personal pronouns were thus accented in Latin and had an *emphatic* value.

This emphatic value was preserved for some time in Old French; but from the end of the 12th century, when the verbal inflexions became disorganized and gradually obliterated, these inflexions became inadequate to distinguish the grammatical person; and consequently, in order to restore their precision of meaning to the verbal forms, the language had to make a more and more frequent use of the nominatives of personal pronouns.

But this increase in use led to a weakening of their emphasis, and pronouns which were originally accented gradually became atonic. In the 12th century we see nominatives of personal pronouns for the first time used in this new way. It required four centuries for this use to become finally established in the language. At the end of the 16th century the revolution was complete: the three persons were then definitively marked in the verb by the use of atonic nominative personal pronouns; and it was this new grammatical formation which prevented the loss of these nominatives.

If the distinction of the verbal forms by means of inflexion had subsisted down to the end of the 14th century, the nominative cases of pronouns would have shared the fate of the nominative cases of nouns, and disappeared.

Owing to the changes described, the language lost the emphatic use of these subject pronouns. This emphatic use was, however, so obviously advantageous, and so fully met a need of the language, that an effort was necessarily made to replace in some measure what had just been allowed to disappear. The pronouns possessed objective cases in two forms, the one atonic, the other accented (*me, moi; te, toi; le, lui, &c.*). The former emphatic nominative was replaced by the accented form of the accusative. From the 12th century we find such forms as: *moi qui lis, toi qui dis, &c.*¹

Thus, on the one hand, the weakening of the verbal inflexions led to the change of the emphatic and accented nominative of the pronoun into an atonic nominative, of which the function was merely to mark the grammatical person of the verb; and this change saved it from oblivion². On the other hand, the accented form of the accusative

¹ See Syntax, § 392.

² These pronouns have, however, in general remained accented in interrogative sentences such as *Penses-tu? Aime-t-il? Irons-nous? Voulez-vous? Que disent-ils?* (With regard to *aimé-je*, see § 219, 2.)

of the pronoun replaced the emphatic nominative, in the same way as the accusative of the noun had acquired the function of a nominative.

194. TRUE PERSONAL PRONOUNS (see § 192). PRONOUN OF THE FIRST PERSON.—(i) *Nominative Singular*.—The pronoun of the first person, in Classical Latin *ego*, became, in consequence of the dropping of the medial *g*, *eo*, which led to the early French *ieo*¹. In the group *ieo* the vowel *i* became a consonant and was transformed into *j*: *jëo*, *jeo*, a form which from the 11th century was reduced to *jo* or *jou*. In the 12th century this pronoun, becoming atonic, was weakened into *je*, and before a vowel into *j'*, and these forms have subsisted down to the present day.

Nevertheless, until the middle of the 16th century *je* was capable of bearing a *tempus forte*, and might be separated from the verb by words placed in apposition to it, by adjectives, adverbs, or incidental statements: *Je qui avais . . .* (Marot, ii, 51). *Je de ma part* (id. 106). *Je tout malade et privé de soulas* (Mod. F. *consolation*) (id. iii, 127). *Je, dist Picrochole, le prendray à mercy*² (Rab. i, 33). *Je pareillement quoy que sois hors d'effroy, ne suis toutes fois hors d'esmoy* (Rab. iii, prol.). We find also in Scarron (*Virgile travesti*, i, l. 1): *Je qui chantai jadis Typhon*. Of this free use of the pronoun there has remained a trace in the formal expression: *Je soussigné* (*I, the undersigned*). Except in the case of this archaism, *je* is now always an atonic pronoun which is joined with the verb following³, and serves to denote the grammatical first person singular.

(ii) *Accusative Singular*.—The Latin pronoun was *mē*:

¹ In the Oaths of Strasburg we find the form *eo*, but it has been demonstrated that this should be pronounced *ieo*.

² In Mod. F.: *Il sera, dit Picrochole, à ma discrétion*.

³ It can only be separated from it by other atonic words: *Je ne sais, Je ne le donne pas*.

as an atonic it became *me*; as an accented word, *mei*, *moi*. In the Middle Ages the use of *me* and *moi*, respectively, depended chiefly on the exact emphasis to be laid on the pronoun: *moi* had an emphatic signification that *me* did not possess. *Il moi frappe* expressed more than *il me frappe*. In Modern French the use of *moi* and *me* respectively has been reduced to precise rules, and will be treated in the Syntax (§ 393).

(iii) *Nominative and Accusative Plural*.—In Popular Latin the atonic nominative *nōs*, and both the atonic and accented forms of the accusative *nōs*, were preserved. In Old French there was an accented form *nōs* (usually written *nus* in the oldest texts) for the nominative. But towards the end of the 12th century this nominative *nōs* became atonic, and then underwent the phonetic change of the Latin atonic *o*: i. e. changed from *o* into *ou* (§ 57, Book I, p. 105): *nos* became *nous*, just as *voer* from *vōtare* became *vouer*. In the accusative the atonic form *nōs* was according to rule also changed into *nous* at the end of the Middle Ages. The accented form *nōs* ought to have led up to *nōus*, *nós*, and finally *neus* (§§ 51, 3 and 94). But, since of the three forms just given the two most in use were forms in *ou* (the form *nous* as nominative and as accusative), the form *neus* had no time to become established, and was replaced by the others. Hence, *nous* was used (1) as an atonic pronoun, for the subject (*nous aimons*); and both for the direct and the indirect object (*il nous écoute*, *il nous parle*); and (2) as an accented pronoun, both for the direct and the indirect object (*il nous aime*, *nous*; *il vient à nous*); for the object after an imperative (*écoute-nous*); and, finally, for the emphatic subject (*nous qui disons*; *nous, nous voulons*).

195. PRONOUN OF THE SECOND PERSON.—(i) *Nominative Singular*.—The Latin *tū* became the accented pronoun *tu*, which, in the 12th century, tended to become atonic, but

was still used as an accented pronoun until the 16th century: *Tu, dist frere Jean, te damne comme un vieil diable*¹ (Rabelais, iv, 18); *O tu qui n'as lettres à ce duysantes*² (Marot, iii, 111). It was only after that period that *tu* became definitively an atonic pronoun inseparable from the verb following (*tu parles*³), and serving simply to denote the grammatical second person singular⁴.

(ii) *Accusative Singular*.—The Latin atonic *tē* became the French *te*; the accented *tē* became the French *tei, toi*. The history of *te* and *toi* is exactly similar to that of *me* and *moi*.

(iii) *Nominative and Accusative Plural*.—From the Latin *vōs* first came *vos*, and then *vous*, of which the history is exactly similar to that of *nos* and *nous*.

196. REFLEXIVE PRONOUN OF THE THIRD PERSON.—Just as *mē* gave the forms *me*, and *mei, moi* (§ 194, ii); and as *tē* gave *te*, and *tei, toi* (§ 195, ii); so *sē* gave *se* and *sei, soi*, of which the history is exactly similar to that of the pronouns of the first and second persons.

197. DEMONSTRATIVE PERSONAL PRONOUN OF THE THIRD PERSON. SUBSTANTIVE PRONOUN.—In Latin there was no special personal pronoun for the third person; in order to express either a nominative of that person, or an objective referring to a word that was not the subject, some one or other of the demonstratives was used: *is, hic, iste, ille, ipse*, or *idem*. French, on the contrary, from its origin possessed a special form for the pronoun of the third person, namely *il*, derived from *ille*, which had been adopted in Gallo-Romanic to the exclusion of the other demonstratives.

¹ Mod. F.: *Toi, dit frere Jean, je te damne, &c.*

² Mod. F.: *O toi qui n'as de lettres ayant rapport [conduisantes] à ceci.*

³ *Tu*, like *je*, can only be separated from the verb by atonic particles: *Tu ne fais rien; tu ne le lui diras pas.*

⁴ From the 13th century, in popular French, *tu* was reduced to *t* before a vowel: *Je ne sai que t'as en pens* (*Romans*, xxii, p. 56); *t'ies de tel bien garni* (Mod. F. *tu es de tel bien fourni*; *ibid.*).

This change of function, which converted a demonstrative into a personal pronoun, has not been so complete as to banish all traces of the primitive signification from the language. These appear in the article *le, la, les* (§ 199), which shows us the adjectival use of the demonstrative, and in the possessive *leur* (§ 202, II), which is really equivalent in Modern French to *de ceux, of those*.

(i) *Masculine Singular (Origin of il, lui, le, and O.F. li).*
—In Classical Latin *ille* was declined as follows :

Nom.	<i>ille</i>
Gen.	<i>illius</i>
Dat.	<i>illi</i>
Acc.	<i>illum</i>
Abl.	<i>illo</i>

Each of these forms might be either accented or atonic.

They were first reduced in number in the popular usage of Northern Gaul by the loss of the genitive and ablative. Then the remaining cases were affected by the analogical action of the relative and interrogative pronoun *qui*, of which the declension in Popular Latin was :

Nom.	<i>qui</i> .
Case of the indirect object,	<i>qui</i> .
Case of the direct object, accented,	<i>qui</i> .
Case of the direct object, atonic,	<i>quem</i> .

This pronoun, being used as an interrogative, caused the demonstrative, which usually served as an answer, to take the same terminations ; so that the desire to make the connexion between the two terms evident led to the remodeling of the declension of *ille*. Hence the following forms resulted :

Nom.	<i>illi</i> .
Case of the indirect object, accented,	<i>illi</i> ¹ .

¹ The Latin dative *illi* remained as the atonic form of the indirect object case.

Case of the direct object, accented, *illqi*.

Case of the direct object, atonic, *(il)lum*.

The nominative *illi* became *il*¹.

The case of the indirect object *illqi*, losing its atonic syllable, according to the ordinary rule, became *lui* in the demonstrative use. Similarly, the case of the direct object, accented, became *lui*; the case of the direct object, atonic, *(il)lum*, and then *lu*, became *lo*, and, later on, *le*. In the Middle Ages *je lui frappe* (in the sense of 'I strike *that* man,' or '*that* is the man whom I strike') and *je le frappe* were both used (§ 194, ii). Such was the usage in Old French.

Now the subject-case *il* gradually became atonic, and was reduced to being merely the mark of the third person of the verb. When an emphatic subject-pronoun was needed, the accented direct object case *il* was replaced by *lui*: *lui prétend*; *lui, il prétend* (*he asserts*) (Syntax, § 392).

For the indirect object, besides the accented form *lui* an atonic form *li* was used: *il lui parle*; *il li parle*. At the end of the Middle Ages the atonic pronoun *li* disappeared from general use; it was replaced by *lui*, which came to be used as an atonic form: *il lui parle*.

For the direct object, *lui* has been preserved as an accented form, but the construction *je le vois, lui*, has replaced the mediaeval *je lui vois*; *le* has remained as the atonic form: *je le vois*. We see thus how the modern usage was established.

(ii) *Masculine Plural* (*Origin of ils, leur, eux, les*).—The Classical Latin forms were:

Nom. *illi*

Gen. *illorum*

¹ It is a law of French phonetics that when the accented vowel in Latin was a short stopped *i* it became in general an *é*. Thus the plural *illes* gave the O. F. *els*. But when the word ended with a long *i*, as in *illi*, the accented vowel remained an *i* in French (Book I, § 50, note).

Dat. *illis*
Acc. *illos*
Abl. *illis*

In the Popular Latin of Gaul only *illi*, *illorum*, and *illos* were preserved.

illi became, in Old French, *il*. The nominative plural was thus identical in form with the nominative singular. In the 14th century, when the declension of the substantives was lost, and it became customary to denote the plural nouns by adding an *s*, the plural *il* became *ils* and was thus distinguished from the singular *il*.

The genitive *illorum* lost its initial atonic syllable *il* and became *loru*, then *lor*, and later *leur*. This genitive, which has preserved its original meaning in the possessive use, *leur maison* (= the house of them), acquired the value of a dative as a personal pronoun: *il leur parle* (= he speaks to them). It thus corresponds to the dative singular *lui*. It was originally accented: this is why *lor* was changed into *leur* (§§ 51, 3 and 94). But later on, like *lui*, when used as a dative it became atonic, as in *il leur parle*. (Cp. p. 306.)

The accented accusative *illos* first gave *els*, and later on *eus*, *eux*, owing to the transformation of the *l* into a vowel (§ 107); the atonic accusative became (*il*)*los*, which gave *les*. *Eux* was used to denote the emphatic object, whether direct or prepositional: *je les vois*, *eux* (I see them); *c'est à eux que je parle* (it is to them that I speak); and, when the nominative plural *il* became atonic, *eux* also replaced *il* as the accented nominative.

(iii) *Feminine Singular and Plural* (Origin of *elle*, *la*, *lei* (O.F.), *li* (O.F.), *elles*, *les*).—The Classical Latin forms were:

Nom. Sing.	<i>illā</i>	Plur.	<i>illae</i>
Gen.	<i>illius</i>	"	<i>illarum</i>
Dat.	<i>illi</i>	"	<i>illis</i>
Acc.	<i>illam</i>	"	<i>illas</i>
Abl.	<i>illa</i>	"	<i>illis</i>

In Popular Latin the ablative was lost; and the accusative, in addition to its own function, acquired that of the nominative. The declension was then reduced to the following forms:

Nom. and Acc. Sing.	<i>illam</i>	Pl. <i>illas</i>
Gen.	„ <i>illius</i>	„ <i>illarum</i>
Dat.	„ <i>illi</i>	„ <i>illis</i>

In the singular, *illam*, accented, gave *elle* (earlier *ele*), used first as the accented nominative, then also as the atonic nominative. *Elle vient* at first meant 'she comes'; to express the same meaning in Modern French the word *elle* is repeated after the verb, with stress: *elle vient, elle*. *Elle* was also used to denote the emphatic object whether direct or prepositional: *je la vois, elle* (I see her); *je parle à elle* (it is to her that I speak). When atonic, *illam* became (i)la(m), i.e. *la*, the atonic form of the direct object, used, for instance, in *je la vois*.

The genitive *illius* was lost in Northern Gaul.

The dative *illi* was replaced as an accented form by the accented form *illae*, *illēi*, which gave *lei*, whilst the original *illi*, which gave *li*, survived (like the masculine dative) as an atonic form. Thus Old French possessed an accented form *lei* and an atonic form *li* for the indirect object. *Lei* and *li* were both lost at the end of the Middle Ages. They were both replaced, from the 14th century onwards, by the atonic form of the masculine, *lui*, which now became of both genders: *je lui parle* may mean *I speak to him* or *to her*.

In the plural, *illas* as an accented form became *elles*, and this was used first for the accented subject case, and later on also for the accented object case and for the indirect object case: *elles viennent*; *elles viennent, elles* (nom. accented); *je les vois, elles* (accusative accented); *je vais à elles* (prepositional accusative). As an atonic form it became (i)las, *las*, and then *les* (identical in form with the

masculine *les* from (il)los), which is used in French as the direct object : *je les vois*. The indirect object is denoted by the masculine *leur* (from illorum), which, like *lui* in the singular, has become of both genders : *je leur parle, à elles*.

(iv) To sum up, the accented subject cases of both genders and numbers of the demonstrative personal pronoun became atonic at the end of the period of Middle French and have since served merely to mark the verbal inflexions (*il, ils; elle, elles*). For the emphatic use of the subject and that of the direct or indirect object the accented forms of the accusative (*lui, eux; elle, elles*) are used. The forms for the atonic direct object are, in conformity with their Latin etymology, *le, les; la, les*. To represent the singular indirect object, *lui*, the accented masculine singular dative in Old French became atonic, and also replaced its corresponding feminine *lei*, which was lost at the end of the Middle Ages. Finally *leur* came to serve as the indirect object for both genders in the plural.

We must notice the loss of the syllable *il* everywhere when either (i) the whole word containing this syllable, or (ii) this syllable alone, was atonic. We see this in the following Latin and French forms : (i) (il)lum, *le*; (il)lam, *la*; (il)los, *les*; (il)las, *les*; or (ii) (il)lūi, *lui*; (il)lorum, *leur*. As similar changes occurred in the other Romance languages, we must therefore conclude that their origin is to be found in Popular Latin.

198. THE IMPERSONAL PRONOUN *il*.—The pronoun *il*, used before impersonal verbs : *il pleut, il fait froid*; or before personal verbs to introduce a subject : *il viendra un homme* (a man will come), is a logical neuter, but not a grammatical neuter. It does not correspond in any way with illud, the neuter of ille, which would have given *el* in French. This logical neuter was almost unknown in Old French, in which it was hardly ever used except with the forms of *avoir* and *être*; it only began to come

into real use from the middle of the 12th century, that is from the date when the custom was adopted of expressing personal pronouns before the verb. From the time when *il vient, il débarque*, was used, it must have seemed hard to say *pleut, i a gens* (Mod. F. *il pleut, il y a des gens*). Yet as late as the 16th century the impersonal pronoun was frequently omitted, and the expressions *tant y a*¹, *tant s'en faut*², remind us of the old usage.

199. THE ADJECTIVE PRONOUN OR ARTICLE *li* (O.F.), *lo* (O.F.), *le, la, les* [masc. and fem.].—The adjective pronoun is what is called the definite article. Latin had no article, whilst Greek had already derived one from one of its demonstratives in the earliest period of its history with which we are acquainted. It was only during the Romanic period that Latin in its turn began to follow the same process as Greek. It was by the gradual weakening of the signification of the demonstrative *ille* that a definite article was created. As early as the 6th century the atonic forms of *ille* (see § 197, i) were used as articles. Hence the Old French articles :

Masc. Sing. Nom. (il)li, <i>li</i>	Plur. (il)li, <i>li</i>
" Acc. (il)lum, <i>lo, le</i>	" (il)los, <i>les</i>
Fem. Sing. Nom., Acc. (il)lam, <i>la</i>	" (il)las, <i>les</i>

The nominative was lost at the end of the Middle Ages, and there remained only the accusative forms *lo* (later on *le*), *les*, and *la, les*.

Notes.—1. In form the article is the atonic demonstrative. Thus it is curious to find that the first syllable of the Popular Latin *illi* became the pronoun *il*, and the second the article *li*.

2. In sense the article was used to show that the sub-

¹ [*Tant y a = il y a tant = there is so much, and, hence, consequently. A French equivalent is *par suite*.*]

² [*= il s'en faut de tant = so much is wanting, far from it, and, hence, by no means.*]

stantive which follows it is taken in a determinate sense, and hence the article is itself a determinant. This demonstrative sense is still to be seen in Modern French. In the second stanza of the *Vie de Saint Alexis* we find—

Al tens Noe et al tens Abraham
Et al David . . .

'In the time of Noah . . . and in *that* of David' (*al* = *à* + *le*, see below). Now, at the present day we still have proper nouns denoting places, such as Villeneuve-la-Guyard, which is equivalent to 'Villeneuve, *that* of Guyard' (Book III, § 281, 2 *e*); *la* has here the full signification of the demonstrative *illam*.

3. In the singular, the vowel of the article may be elided before a word commencing with a vowel or *h* mute. From the earliest period of the language the elision was made in the case of the feminine singular article: *l'amor* for *la amor*; and in the accusative masculine singular: *l'ome* for *lo ome*. In the 11th century the elision began to be used in the case of the nominative masculine singular; *li arcevesques* and *l'arcevesques* were first used indiscriminately, and then *l'arcevesques* became the regular form. The elision in the case of the form *li* used as the nominative singular led to elision with *li* as the nominative plural.

4. The article was condensed with certain prepositions preceding it, *de*, *à*, *en*; i. e. it lost its vowel and combined with the preceding monosyllable. The contraction only took place with the masculine singular form *le*, and the masculine and feminine plural *les*. The feminine singular *la* never admitted of contraction in this way.

De + *le* = *du*. From the first, *de le* became *del*, which in the 12th century, owing to the transformation of the atonic *el* into a vowel, became *deu*, then *dou*, and, later, *du* (§ 107).

De + *les* = *des*. *De les* became *dels*, which as early as

the 10th century was reduced to *des*. If the word had kept its *l* until the 12th century, as in the singular *del*, we should have had the successive forms *dous* and *dus*.

A + le = au. *A le* became *al*, which at the end of the 12th century gave the form *au* (§ 106).

A + les = aux. *A les* became *als*, which was reduced, in the same way as *dels*, in the 10th century to *as*, the only form existing from the 10th to the 13th century. In the 13th century the effect of the extremely frequent termination *-als*, *-aux* (as in *chevals*, *chevaux*), led to the change of *as* into *aux*, which thus came to correspond in form with the singular *au*. A like assimilation could not occur in the case of *du* and *des*, because there were no analogous terminations in the language to act on them.

En + le = O.F. en, ou. **En + les = es.** *En le* became in the 10th century *enl* (*enl fou* = Mod. F. *dans le feu*: *Séquence de Sainte Eulalie*, line 19); in the 11th century *el*; in the 13th century *eu* and *ou*. *Ou* (= *in the*) became obsolete in the 16th century.

En les became first *enls* and then passed at once, in the commencement of the 10th century, into the simpler forms *ds*, *es* (as *dels* passed into the form *des*).

In the 16th century *es*, like *ou*, became obsolete. *Es*¹ has only survived in certain formal expressions: *bachelier*, &c., *es arts*, *es lettres*, *es sciences* (*bachelor*, &c., of *arts*, *letters*, *sciences*). In general usage *ou* and *es* have been replaced (1) in some cases by *au*, *aux*: *au sien* in *en mon nom et au sien* is equivalent to *en le sien*; *mettre aux fers* (to put in irons) is equivalent to the O.F. *mettre es fers* or *en les fers*; (2) in other cases by *dans le* or *dans les*². See Book III, § 352, and Book IV, § 468.

We must notice that, as *ou* was not placed before a

¹ [Often written in Modern French *es*.]

² [On *en*, *dans*, *dodans*, &c., see A. Darmesteter, *Reliques Scientifiques*, II. 177.]

feminine singular (*en la circonstance*, not *ou circonstance*) or before a masculine noun commencing with a vowel (*en l'état*, *en l'honneur*, *de quelqu'un*; not *ou état*, &c.), the use of *en* followed by the feminine article, and by the masculine article with the vowel elided, has survived in Modern French.

III. Possessive Pronouns.

200. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.—The French possessive pronoun shows two important peculiarities as compared with the Latin possessive: the remodelling of the 2nd and 3rd persons on the type of the 1st; and the creation of a possessive referring to more than one possessor, for the 3rd person.

The French possessives may be either atonic or accented.

They are divided into possessives referring to a single possessor: *un père aime ses enfants*; and into possessives referring to more than one possessor: *les pères aiment leurs enfants*.

201. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS REFERRING TO A SINGLE POSSESSOR.—The following were the Latin forms for the three persons:

Masc. Nom. Sing.	<i>meus, tuus, suus</i> ¹	Plur.	<i>mei, tui, sui</i>
„ Acc.	„ <i>meum, tuum, suum</i>	„	<i>meos, tuos,</i> <i>suos</i>
Fem. Nom. Sing.	<i>mea, tua, sua</i>	Plur.	<i>meae, tuae,</i> <i>suae</i>
„ Acc.	„ <i>meam, tuam, suam</i>	„	<i>meas, tuas,</i> <i>suas</i>

¹ *Suus, sua*, &c., referred in Latin only to the subject, whereas *seus, seae*, &c., refer also to the object in French, replacing *ajus*, &c.; see Syntax, § 402, ii.

2. Atonic Forms.

(i) *Atonic masculine forms* (*Origin of mon, ton, son, mes, tes, ses*).—The declension in Old French, derived from the Latin forms, was as follows :

Nom. Sing. *mes, tes, ses*

Plur. *mi, ti, si*

" Acc. *mon, ton, son*

" *mes, tes, ses*

In the nominative singular, the atonic Latin forms *m(e)os, t(u)os, s(u)os*, gave *mes, tes, ses*, just as *(il)los* gave *les* (§ 197, ii). In the nominative plural, the atonic form *m(e)i* gave *mi*, and *tui, sui*, were soon remodelled on this type and gave *ti, si*. So that the nominative forms became in the singular *mes, tes, ses*, in the plural *mi, ti, si*.

The accusatives *mon, ton, son*—*mes, tes, ses*, have survived without any change to the present day, whilst the nominatives *mes, tes, ses*—*mi, ti, si*, were lost with all the other nominative forms at the end of the 14th century; they have left no trace in Modern French save the form *mes* in the word *messire*, a nominative of which the corresponding accusative was *monseigneur*.

(ii) *Atonic feminine forms* (*Origin of ma, ta, sa, mes, tes, ses*).—We need only consider the accusative forms (§ 147) *meam, tuam, suam*—*meas, tuas, suas*, which as atonic forms became *mam, ma; tam, ta; sam, sa; mas, tas, sas*: whence the French forms, both old and modern, *ma, ta, sa*—*mes, tes, ses*. (Cf. *les* from *(il)las*, § 197, iii.)

Thus *mes, tes, ses*, are general forms which were derived independently from the masculine *meos, tuos, suos* (through the forms *mos, tos, sos*), and from the feminine *meas, tuas, suas* (through the forms *mas, tas, sas*).

The *a* of the article *la* was elided, and is still elided, before a feminine word beginning with a vowel: *l'âme*. In Old French the *a* of the feminine possessive was similarly elided: *m'âme, l'âme, s'âme*, were used for *ma âme, &c.* From the second half of the 12th century the elided form began to be replaced by *mon*: *mon âme*,

ton âme, son âme. This use of *mon, ton, son*, became the rule in the 14th century. The origin of this strange substitution is unknown. A trace of the Old French usage has come down to us in *m'amie*, corrupted since the 17th century into *ma mie*; and in *mamour*, which was jestingly turned into a barbarous plural in the phrase *faire des mamours*¹.

a. Accented Forms.

(i) *Accented masculine forms (Origin of mien, tien, sien, miens, tiens, siens).*—In Old French there existed a number of forms corresponding to the accented possessive forms in Latin. We give a table of the forms in use in the 11th century :

1st pers. Nom. Sing.	<i>miens</i>	Plur.	<i>mien</i>
„ Acc. „	<i>mien</i>	„	<i>miens</i>
2nd pers. Nom. „	<i>tuens</i>	„	<i>tuen</i>
„ Acc. „	<i>tuen</i>	„	<i>tuens</i>
3rd pers. Nom. „	<i>suens</i>	„	<i>suen</i>
„ Acc. „	<i>suen</i>	„	<i>suens</i>

Since the 11th century, as we shall see, the language has tended to reduce these various forms in number, and to assimilate them. In each person the form of the accusative singular has served as a type for the rest. The nominatives singular and also the nominatives and accusatives plural² were formed on the type of *mien, tuen, suen*, which were regularly derived from *mēmum, tēmum, sēmum*. The language then went further in the way of simplification, and *tuen, suen*, were changed into *tien, sien*, on the type of *mien*. It is in this way that since the loss of the declension, i.e. of distinct forms for the nominative, the French accented masculine possessive pronouns have come to be *mien, tien, sien—miens, tiens, siens*.

¹ = to make demonstrations of affection towards any one.

² We find *meos* in the *Oaths of Strasburg*, and *suos* in the *Saint-Leger*, which correspond with the Latin nominatives singular *meus* and *suus*.

(ii) *Accented feminine forms (Origin of mienne, tienne, sienne).*—In Old French there were also a number of feminine forms corresponding phonetically to the Latin forms *māam* (Popular Latin *mām*) *tām*, *sām*.

Sing. *meie*

Plur. *meies*

" *teue*

" *teues*

" *seue*

" *seues*

Meie, *meies*, became *moie*, *moies*, just as *mei*, *lei*, *sei*, became *moi*, *loi*, *soi* (§ 93). Then *teue*, *seue*, *teues*, *seues*, were replaced by *toie*, *soie*, *toies*, *soies*, modelled on the forms *moie*, *moies*. Finally, as early as the 14th century *moie*, *toie*, *soie*—*moies*, *toies*, *soies*, gave way before new forms, which are still those of Modern French, *mienne*, *tienne*, *sienne*—*miennes*, *tiennes*, *siennes*, and which were modelled on the masculine singular *mien*.

202. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS REFERRING TO MORE THAN ONE POSSESSOR.—In Classical Latin the possessives of this kind were *noster*, *vester*, *sua*. In Popular Latin *vester* was changed into *voster*¹. Moreover, in the Popular Latin of Gaul and Italy *sua* was lost. In Classical Latin the same form *sua* was used in the 3rd person, both for the possessive referring to a single, and for the possessive referring to more than one possessor: *Pater amat suos liberos* (the father loves *his* children); and *Patres amanti suos liberos* (the fathers love *their* children). In both Spanish and Portuguese this single form has survived. In Italian and French, in which the two kinds of possessives are distinguished in the 1st and 2nd persons, a corresponding distinction has been made in the 3rd person, by taking from Latin the genitive of the demonstrative, (ii) *loru(m)*, for that referring to more than one possessor, and forming from it a new possessive, the Italian *loro*, the French *leur* (see § 197, ii). *Leur* serves for both genders in its possessive as well as in its dative use.

¹ *Voster* also came to be used in Classical Latin.

I. Atonic Forms.

(i) *Atonic masculine forms* (*Origin of* *notre, votre, nos, vos*).—The following table shows the Latin forms and their derivatives in Old French :

Nom. Sing. <i>noster, nostres</i>	Plur. <i>nostri, no</i>
Acc. „ <i>nostrum, nostre</i>	„ <i>nostros, nos, nos</i>

The corresponding forms for *voster, vostre*, were similar.

The singular forms *nostres, nostre*, present no difficulties. In the plural, the accusative *nostros* changed into an abbreviated form differing from that of the singular, and was reduced to *nostrs, nosts, nos, nos*; and the nominative plural *no* was remodelled on the type of the accusative. Modern French has only preserved the forms of the accusative, *nostre, nos*; *vostre, vos*; with a slight modification of *nostre* and *vostre*. The *s* dropped before the *t* and gave *notre, votre*; and, the *o* not being accented, it became short: *nôtre, vôtre* (§ 102).

(ii) *Atonic feminine forms* (*Origin of* *notre, votre, nos, vos*).—The singular forms *nostram, vostram*, became similarly *nostre, vostre, notre, votre*, with a short *o*.

The plurals *nostras, vostras*, being atonic, also gave *nos, vos*, and finally *nos, vos*, by a series of reductions analogous to those of the masculine.

(iii) *Atonic forms of both genders* (*Origin of* *leur, leurs*).—On these forms, now exclusively atonic, see under the section on accented forms immediately below.

2. Accented Forms.

Accented masculine and feminine forms (*Origin of* *le nôtre, le vôtre, leur, mien, tien, sien, &c.*).—We may pass over the lost nominative forms. We find that the accusatives *nostrum, vostrum*; *nostram, vostram*; *nostros, vostos*; *nostras, vostras*, developed according to rule into *nostre, vostre, nostres, vestres*, which, with the loss of the final *s* and the lengthening of the accented *o*, became *nôtre,*

vôtre, nôtres, vôtres (§ 102), pronounced *nôtre, vôtre*. Thus we have: *Voici votre livre. Ce livre est le vôtre.*

The use of the pronoun *sua, sua*, as a possessive referring to more than one possessor being lost, this was replaced for *both* genders by the masculine genitive *illorum*, which signified *of those, of them*. In conformity with its etymology it was originally not declined: *leur amis*. *Leur* was accented, and kept its significance as the genitive of a demonstrative pronoun, and consequently its emphasis, down to the time of Malherbe and even the early days of Racine, in whom we find *la leur chose*, which is equivalent to the Modern French *la chose à eux*. On the other hand we should have expected to find an atonic, adjectival, form *lour*, from the atonic *illorum*; but this seems never to have appeared, owing to the influence of *leur*, which as early as the 14th century came to be used not only as an emphatic but also as an atonic form. Since the 17th century *leur* has come to be an exclusively atonic form. For the emphatic possessive, referring to more than one possessor, either *le leur*, or else the periphrase *à eux*, is used: *ce livre est le leur*; or, *ce livre est à eux*. In the 14th century *leur* received the inflexion of number: *leur ami, leurs amis*. But the influence of analogy has not gone so far as to give *leur* the inflexion of gender: we say *leurs choses* and not *leures choses*.

Thus the possessives, whether referring to a single or to more than one possessor, were in Old French either atonic or accented. As atonics they have always had the function of adjectives and have remained adjectives.

Masc. Sing.	<i>mon, ton, son</i>	Plur.	<i>mes, tes, ses</i>
Fem. „	<i>ma, ta, sa</i>	„	<i>mes, tes, ses</i>
Masc. and Fem.	<i>notre, votre, leur</i>	„	<i>nos, vos, leurs</i>

They are what modern French grammarians call the *possessive adjectives*.

As accented pronouns they have become :

Masc. Sing.	<i>mien, tien, sien</i>	<i>nôtre, vôtre, leur</i>
Masc. Plur.	<i>miens, tiens, siens</i>	<i>nôtres, vôtres, leurs</i>
Fem. Sing.	<i>mienne, tiennic, sienne</i>	<i>nôtre, vôtre, leur</i>
Fem. Plur.	<i>miennes, tiennes, siennes</i>	<i>nôtres, vôtres, leurs</i>

These accented forms were originally either adjectives or substantives. They are in Modern French substantives only, except in certain customary expressions, which have become somewhat archaic: *un mien ami, jè suis tout vôtre*¹. Save in the case of these archaisms they are always construed with the article: *le mien, le tien, le sien, &c., le nôtre, le vôtre, &c.*

They form what modern French grammarians call the *possessive pronouns*.

III. Demonstrative Pronouns.

203. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.—We have seen that the name demonstrative pronoun is not a proper term (§ 123, II). All pronouns, indeed, are demonstratives. Those which we are about to study are especially used to denote the place of the persons or things of which we speak, either in space or time. If we could re-name the personal pronouns and possessive pronouns *personal demonstratives* and *possessive demonstratives*, we should have to call this third kind of pronouns the *locative and temporal demonstratives*.

204. REMAINS OF THE LATIN DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.—Latin possessed the following demonstratives: *hic, ille, iste, is, idem, ipse*. The two last-mentioned had a particular signification: the former signified *the same (person or thing)*, in Modern French *le même*; the second *he himself, or self*, in Modern French *lui-même, même*.

Is and *idem* were lost and have left no traces in French. *Ipsè* survived for some time in Old French under the form

¹ This expression is rarely used except in signing a letter.

of *eps*, *es*¹, but this soon gave way to *medesme*, later on *meesme*, now *même*, which, as we have already seen (§ 142), is derived from the Latin *metipsimum*, in which we find *ipse* included.

Hic, or rather its neuter *hoo*, is preserved in the Old French *o*, which is found in the compounds—(i) *oui*, formerly *oil* (from *o* = *hoo* + *il*(*lud*); see p. 383), and (ii) *avec*, formerly *avuec*, *avoc* (= *with this, near*; from *av* = *apud* + *hoo*).

Iste appears in the *Oaths of Strasburg* in the form *ist* (*D'ist di, from this day*) and was preserved in this form and also in that of *es* until the end of the 12th century².

Ille has been preserved as a personal pronoun of the third person (§ 197) and as an article (§ 199). Its genitive plural *illorum* has been preserved in *leur* (§§ 197, ii. and 202) as the indirect object case of the plural personal pronoun of the 3rd person, and as a possessive pronoun.

205. CREATION OF NEW DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS IN GALLO-ROMANIC.—A new series of demonstrative pronouns was created in Gallo-Romanic by combining *iste*, *ille*, and *hoo* with the adverb *ecce* (*behold, here is, there is*), forming the words *ecceiste*, *ecceille*, and *eccehoo*. *Ecce* as an isolated word became the Old French adverb *eis*, *es*³. In combination with the demonstratives it became *iq*. The resulting forms were *icist*, *icil*, *iqo*. The initial *i* of these compound demonstratives was not, however, invariably used in Old French. In the oldest texts we already notice their absence, and we may say that the abridged forms *cist*,

¹ *Paschas furent in epas cel di.*

(*Saint-Léger*, ed. G. Paris, stanza 14.)

[Mod. F.: *Pâques furent en ce jour là même.*]

The phrase *ous le pas* (*at once, quickly*) was in constant use in the Middle Ages.

² We still find in Benoit de Sainte More, about 1160, '*la garison d'iste cité*' (*Roman de Troie*, ed. Joly, l. 12835).

³ This adverb was in constant use especially in the phrase *es vos*, in which the pronoun is an expletive: *es les vos adobes* (*les vous voilà adoubés*).

cil, *ço*, were far more used than the completer forms *icist*, *icil*, *ico*. We still find in the 17th century traces of this *i* in the forms *icelui*, *icelle*, *iceux*, *icelles*, now only used in legal terminology, which is always archaic.

206. ECCEHOC (*Origin of O.F. ȝo, Mod. F. ce*).—Eccehoo became *ico* and *ço*; *ço*, in its turn, became *ce*, passing through the form *çou* (cf. *jo, jou, je*).

We must not confound the neuter pronoun *ce*, coming from eccehoo, with the masculine pronoun *ce*, of which we shall investigate the origin in the following paragraph, and which is a weakened form of *icest*, *cest*. *Ce livre* comes from *cest livre* and represents the Latin *ecceistum librum*; *ce que je dis* represents the Latin *eccehoo quod dico*.

ECCEHAC (*Origin of çà*).—Eccehao similarly gave *çà* (adv.)

Now, in order to emphasize the demonstrative idea, from the 14th century the adverbs *ici* and *là* were placed after *ce*, whence the forms *ceci*, *cela*. In popular pronunciation *cela* was reduced in the 17th century to *ça*: *ça ira*. We must not confound this word *ça*, which is a contraction of *cela*, with the adverb *çà* just quoted, which is written with a grave accent precisely in order to distinguish it from the former word: or *çà*, *dis-moi* (now, tell me), represents the Latin *eccehao dio mihi*.

207. DECLENSION OF ECCEISTE (O.F. *cist*; *Origin of cet, ce, cette*).—The declension of this pronoun in Old French was as follows:

		<i>Masculine.</i>	
		Accented Form.	Atonic Form.
Sing. Nom.	ecceiste	(i)cist	
Indirect Object case	ecceistui	(i)cestui	(i)cesti
Direct Object case	ecceistum	(i)cest	
Plur. Nom.	ecceisti	(i)cist	
Direct Object case	ecceistos	(i)ces	

Feminine.

		Accented Form.	Atonic Form.
Sing. Nom.	eoceistam	(i)ceste	
Indirect Object case	eoceistei	(i)cestei	(i)cesti
Direct Object case	eoceistam	(i)ceste	
Plur. Nom.	eoceistas	(i)cestes	(i)ces
Direct Object case	eoceistas	(i)cestes	(i)ces

Notes.—1. In the 14th century the masculine nominatives singular and plural, *cist*, and the accented dative feminine *cestei*, disappeared. In the 15th century the atonic datives masculine and feminine, both of which had the form *cesti*, also dropped out of use. There remained, then, only the forms *cestui*, *cest*, *ces* (later *ce*), in the masculine, and *ceste*, *cestes*, *ces*, in the feminine. *Cestui* was used indifferently as dative and accusative, and survived until the beginning of the 17th century; Vaugelas banished it finally from the language, and, if it still appears in La Fontaine, La Bruyère, and even in Voltaire, it is as an archaism¹. The feminine plural *cestes* did not outlive the 16th century.

2. In *cest*, *cestui*, *ceste*, *cestes*, the *s* before the *t* dropped from pronunciation in the Middle Ages, and was dropped in spelling in the 16th century. When the *t* was followed by a vowel, it was doubled: the forms *cesle*, *cestui*, *ceste*, became *celle*, *cettui*, *celle*.

3. We say in French *ce père*, but *cel astre*, *cel homme*. This weakening of *cest* into *ce* before a word beginning with a consonant or an *h* aspirate dates from the 12th century. The *t*, having ceased to be pronounced, was probably omitted in spelling owing to the influence of the neuter *ce* from eocehoe (§ 206); *ce signifie* (Mod. F. *cela*

¹ *Cestui*, or rather its atonic form *cesti*, has been preserved in the popular language in the compound *cel-là* (= *celui-là*). [It survives (with other relics of Norman French) in English legal terminology, in the expression 'a *cestui que trust*.']

signifie), &c., probably led to the replacement of the forms *ce(s)t père*, *ce(s)t maître*, by *ce père*, *ce maître*.

208. ECCEILLE (O.F. *oïl*; *Origin of oelui, oëux, celle, celles*).—The declension of *oïl* or *cil* in Old French was identical with that of the personal pronoun *il*, except that *oïl* possessed double forms, accented and atonic, for the indirect object, while, on the other hand, it had no atonic forms for the direct object corresponding to the masculines singular and plural *lo*, *le*, and the feminines singular and plural *la*, *les*, nor any form for the indirect object in the plural, masculine or feminine, corresponding to *lor* (see pp. 295, 297).

Masculine.

		Accented Form.	Atonic Form.
Sing. Nom.	eoceïlli	(i)cil	
Indirect Object case	eoceïlli	(i)celui	(i)celi
Direct Object case	eoceïlli	(i)celui, (i)cel	
Plur. Nom.	eoceïlli	(i)cil	
Direct Object case	eoceïllos	(i)cels	

Feminine.

		Accented Form.	Atonic Form.
Sing. Nom.	eoceïllam	(i)cele	
Indirect Object case	eoceïlli	(i)celei	(i)celi
Direct Object case	eoceïllam	(i)cele	
Plur. Nom.	eoceïllas	(i)celles	
Direct Object case	eoceïllas	(i)celles	

208 a. NOTES ON §§ 207 AND 208.—1. In the 14th century *cil* lost its accented dative feminine *celei*, and in the 15th century its atonic dative masculine *celi*. The nominative plural masculine *cil* also dropped in the 14th century; but the nominative singular masculine *cil* survived until the beginning of the 17th century, and La Bruyère laments its loss as that of the prettiest word in the French language. In Middle French, and in that of the 16th century, *cil* was

used for the accusative as well as the nominative, and even in the 16th century it was more used than *cel*, which was lost soon after. Thus it was only in the 17th century that the family of words derived from *coceille* was finally constituted in its modern form: *celui*, *ceux* (see 2, *infra*), for the masculine, and *celle*, *celles*, for the feminine.

2. The *l* of *cels*, preceding a consonant, was changed in the 12th century into *u*: *cels* became *ceus*, and then *ceux* (§ 107).

3. *Cil* and *cist* in Old French were used as both substantive and adjective-pronouns: *Oïl obliet les choses celestiennes et cist oeles choses he sunt sor tere* [Mod. F. *Celui-là oublie les choses célestes et celui-ci les choses qui sont sur terre*] (*Sermons de Saint Bernard*, ed. Foerster, 55, 19). *La ou cist furent* [Mod. F. *Là où ceux-ci furent*] (Rol., line 111). *Cist païen* [Mod. F. *Ces païens*] (id., line 1166). But from a very early period the language showed a tendency not to use certain cases of *cist* substantively; and in the 16th century the reduction of *cest*, *ce*, *ces*, to atonic forms, i. e. to adjective-pronouns, was an accomplished fact. *Cestui* (or *ceui*) and *celle* alone continued to be used as substantive-pronouns: *ceui-ci* [Mod. F. *celui-ci*] *nous souhaitoit du mal* (Montaigne, i, 50); *celles-ci* [Mod. F. *celles-ci*] (id., 19). All the forms of *cil*, on the contrary, continued to be used both as adjective- and as substantive-pronouns: *cil livre*, *celui temps* [Mod. F. *ce livre*, *ce temps*] (Rabelais, ii, 1); *celle fin* (Montaigne, iii, 13). The separation between the two groups only became definitive in the 17th century; *ceui* was dropped, and *celle* became henceforth an adjective-pronoun, like *cet*, *ce*, *ces*. The forms corresponding to *cil*, on the contrary, reduced to *celui*, *ceux*, *celle*, and *celles*, were henceforth only used as substantive-pronouns.

4. Let us consider the modern forms *celui-ci*, *celui-là*; *celle-ci*, *celle-là*; *ceux-ci*, *ceux-là*, the equivalents of the English *this*, *that*, *these*, and *those*. In Old French the uses of *cist* and of *cil* were clearly distinguished. The

cases of *cist* denoted objects that were near; those of *cil*, objects that were far: *Cestui cruciet avarice, oelui enflammet luxure* (Mod. F. *L'avarice tourmente celui-ci, la luxure br le celui-l *; *Quatre Livres des Rois*, p. 451). The etymological signification of each of these two groups in course of time becoming weaker, the language had recourse to a new process to distinguish the place of objects referred to: the adverb *ici* was conjoined to *cist*, and the adverb *l * to *cil*, e. g. *oest livre ici, cestui livre ici*; *oelle maison l *; which led to the later forms *celle-ci, cestui-ci*; *celle-l , celui-l *. But a new confusion of sense soon arose, for the forms *celle-l , cestui-l *, and *celle-ci, celui-ci*¹, came also to be used. In Montaigne, in some instances, we find that the demonstratives have preserved their original signification, as in *Oeluy l  feroit bien, et oettuy oi vertueusement* [Mod. F. *Celui-l  ferait bien et celui-ci vertueusement*] (ii, 12), but in others this signification has been lost: *J'ai mes autres parties viles, mais en oette l * [Mod. F. *celle-l *] *je pense estre singulier* (i, 9). *Cette* being reduced to an adjective-pronoun, and *cestui* being lost, the only substantive-pronouns remaining to denote proximity or distance were the forms derived from *cil*: *celui-ci, celui-l *; *ceux-ci, ceux-l *; *celle-ci, celle-l *; *celles-ci, celles-l *. Similarly, the cases of *cist*, now exclusively adjective-pronouns, are made to denote proximity or distance by means of the addition of the suffixes *-ci* or *-l * to the substantives qualified: *ce livre-ci*² (*this book*), *cette femme-l * (*that woman*).

IV. Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

209. RELATIVE PRONOUN (*Origin of qui and que*).—The declension of the relative pronoun in Classical Latin

¹ [The adverbial suffixes *-ci, -l *, introduced at first only to emphasize the primitive distinction of place between the two demonstratives, thus came to take this whole function on themselves.]

² In the popular French *ce livre ici* (used for *ce livre-ci*) there seems to be some consciousness of the origin of the phrase.

was reduced in the Popular Latin of Gaul to the three following cases, which were indeclinable in gender and number :

- | |
|--|
| Nom. accented, <i>qui</i> . |
| Indirect Object case, accented, <i>oui</i> . |
| Direct Object case, accented, <i>oui</i> . |
| Direct Object case, atonic, <i>quem</i> . |

The nominative *qui* has become the French *qui*. From a very early period it was also used as an atonic form, and then weakened into *que* : *Fous est que dit quanque il pense* [Mod. F. *Fou est qui dit tout ce qu'il pense*] (*Roman de Renart*, ed. Martin, i, p. 287); *Chil que dedens estoient* [Mod. F. *Ceux qui étaient dedans*] (Froissart, iv, 163, 32). This weakened form occurs in isolated instances in the 16th century.

The form for the accented indirect object case and the direct object case, *oui*, remained as *cui* in Old French. We have *oui Dieu absolve* (Mod. F. *que Dieu absolve*), *oui cousin* and *oui fille* (Mod. F. *le cousin de qui, la fille de qui*). It was only in the 15th century that the word *cui* was finally replaced by *qui* and became henceforth identical in form with the nominative *qui*. It is this word *qui*, derived from the object case, which is used after prepositions : *à qui, pour qui*; or as the direct object of verbs : *prenez qui vous voudrez*. In the last instance it has no antecedent, and is a substantive-pronoun.

The atonic direct object case *quem* has become the French *que*, which is always used with an antecedent, and, consequently, as an adjective-pronoun.

210. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN (*Origin of qui*).—The forms of the interrogative pronoun in Old French are the same as those of the relative pronoun : that is, *qui* for the nominative, *cui* and *que* for the direct and indirect objects. As in the case of the relative, *cui* was changed into *qui*; on the other hand, the accusative *que* was lost, so that

French now possesses only one form *qui* for the nominative, the direct object case, and the indirect object case: *qui est venu? qui demandez-vous? à qui désirez-vous parler?* (See also Syntax, § 416.)

211. THE NEUTER RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS *quoi*, *que*.—Latin possessed a neuter *quod* as a relative pronoun, and a neuter *quid* as an interrogative pronoun. *Quod* did not pass into French; *quid* gave the accented neuter *queid*, *quei*, *quoi*, and the atonic neuter *que*, which are used both for the relative and interrogative: *quoi qu'il arrive; il ne sait à quoi s'en tenir; que voulez-vous?*

212. THE PRONOUNS *quel* AND *lequel*.—The Latin *qualis*, in the sense 'of what kind, or nature,' has become the French *quel*. It has preserved its original signification as an indefinite pronoun: *de quelle nature qu'il soit* (of whatever nature it may be). As an interrogative it became synonymous with *qui* from the earliest period of the language: *quels d'els tuz?* (Mod. F. *lequel d'entre eux tous* or *qui d'entr'eux tous?*). As an interrogative substantive-pronoun, it is in Modern French preceded by the article *le*; as an interrogative adjective-pronoun it keeps its original form *quel*: *lequel avez-vous vu?* (whom did you see?); *quel homme avez-vous vu?* (which man did you see?). But in the 16th century *quel* was still used indifferently with *lequel* as a substantive-pronoun: *quelle des deux aurai-je?* (Rotrou, *Venceslas*, ii, 2, 207).

The use of *lequel* as an interrogative led in the 13th century to its being used as a relative. It was especially in the 15th and 16th centuries that its use spread, to the detriment of the other relative pronouns. Malherbe and Vaugelas endeavoured to proscribe the use of *lequel* as a relative. It has overcome their opposition, but the relative use of *lequel* is more restricted now than it was in Middle French.

CHAPTER III

ON THE VERB

SECTION I.—*Conjugation in general.*

- I. VOICES.**—213. Voices in Latin.—214. Voices in French.
- II. MOODS AND TENSES.**—215. Creation of the conditional in Gallo-Romanic.—216. Loss of certain Latin tenses.—217. New formation of past tenses.—218. New formation of the future and conditional.
- III. PERSONS.**—219. First person singular.—220.—Second person singular.—221. Third person singular.—222. First person plural.—223. Second person plural.—224. Third person plural.—225. Present participle and gerund.
- IV. FORM OF THE RADICAL.**—226. On the part played by the *tempus forte* in the three present tenses.—227. On the part played by the *tempus forte* in the future and conditional.

THE Verb is the part of speech which was most profoundly modified in Gallo-Romanic. So much of the Latin conjugation has nevertheless been preserved as to make the origin of the Modern French conjugation clearly evident.

We shall in the first section of this chapter study the conjugation in general; in the second section we shall study the different kinds of conjugations.

We must first of all consider the voices, moods, tenses, and persons of verbs.

I. Voices.

213. VOICES IN LATIN.—Latin had two voices, the *active* and the *passive*. Moreover, an intermediate class of verbs existed which were passive in termination and active in meaning, and which were called *deponents*.

213 a. The Latin deponents in use in Popular Latin disappeared as deponents without leaving any traces (except in two participles); they became active verbs. Thus *adorari* became *adorare*, O.F. *amirer*; *sequi* became *seguere*, *suivre*; *mori* became *mourir*, *mourir*; *nasci* became

nascere, naitre. The participles *mort* and *né* (*mortuus, natus*) are almost the only representatives of the Latin deponent participles.

213 b. In the conjugation of the passive verbs, two modes of formation were used. (1) The following tenses were formed directly from the radical: in the indicative mood, the present, the imperfect, and future; in the imperative, the present; in the subjunctive, the present and imperfect; in the infinitive, the present; and, lastly, the past participles and future. (2) All the other tenses were formed by a combination of the past participle with the tenses of the verb *esse* (*to be*).

First Mode of Formation.

	Present.	Imperfect.	Past.	Future.
1 sing. Ind. . .	cantor	cantabar	—	cantabor
2 sing. Imper. . .	cantare	—	—	—
1 sing. Subj. . .	cantem	cantarer	—	—
Infinitive . . .	cantari	—	—	—
Participles . . .	—	—	cantatus	cantendus ¹

Second Mode of Formation.

	Perfect.	
1 sing. Ind.	cantatus	{ sum fui
2 sing. Imper.	cantatus	esto
1 sing. Subj.	cantatus	{ sim fuerim
Infinitives	cantatum	{ esse fuisse
	Pluperfect.	Future anterior.
1 sing. Ind.	cantatus { eram fueram	cantatus { ero fuero
2 sing. Imper.	—	—
1 sing. Subj.	cantatus { essem fuissem	—

¹ [Generally called the *gerundive* by English writers.]

214. VOICES IN FRENCH.—Now, in Popular Latin the whole of the tenses depending on the first mode of formation were lost, and the language had to create new passive tenses by compounding the past participle with the verb *être*: *je suis chanté, j'étais chanté, &c.* [Cf. the English passive.]

We shall see in the Syntax (§ 433) the consequences of this new formation, which, being singularly imperfect, renders the Romance languages incapable of expressing the passive idea in many cases. In reality, there is no French *passive*: French possesses but one voice, the *active*, which we must now consider in detail.

II. Moods and Tenses.

215. CREATION OF THE CONDITIONAL IN GALLO-ROMANIC.—Gallo-Romanic preserved the Latin moods: the *indicative, imperative, subjunctive, infinitive, and participle*. In addition, it created a new mood, the *conditional*.

216. LOSS OF CERTAIN LATIN TENSES.—Of the Latin tenses the following have been preserved in French: (1) in the indicative, the *present* (*canto, je chante*), the *imperfect* (*cantabam, je chantais*), the *perfect* (*cantavi, je chantai*), the last losing the senses corresponding to the French perfect (*I have sung*) and 2nd pluperfect (*I had sung*), which it possessed in Latin conjointly with that of the preterite (*I sang*); (2) in the imperative, the *present*, the only tense (*canta, chante*); (3) in the subjunctive, the *present* (*cantem, que je chante*), and the *pluperfect*, with the meaning of the *imperfect* (*cantassent, que je chantasse*); (4) in the infinitive, the *present* (*cantare, chanter*). Besides the above, the following forms were preserved: the *active participle present* (*cantantem, chantant*), the *gerund* (*cantando, abl. case, (en) chantant*), the *perfect participle passive* (*cantatus, chanté*).

The following tenses were lost and left no substitute: the *future present* and *future perfect* of the *infinitive* (*canta-*

turum esse and fuisse), the *future participle* (cantaturus), the *supine* (cantatum).

The following tenses were replaced by other forms: the *imperfect* of the *subjunctive* (cantarem), of which the function was fulfilled by the *pluperfect* of the same mood (cantassem, [*que*] je chantasse); the *future indicative* (cantabo), replaced by a periphrase of the infinitive with the auxiliary *avoir* (cantare-habeo, je chanterai); a series of *past* tenses, viz. the *pluperfect* and *future perfect* of the *indicative*, the *perfect* and *pluperfect* of the *subjunctive*, the *perfect* of the *infinitive*, which have been replaced by periphrases formed by the combination of the past participle with simple tenses of the auxiliary *avoir*, or in some cases with those of the auxiliary *être*.

These combinations even led to the addition of some new tenses: the *perfect* (j'ai chanté) and the *2nd pluperfect* (j'eus chanté).

Finally two new tenses were created by means of a periphrasis of the auxiliary with (1) the infinitive, and with (2) the participle: the *present conditional* (je chanterais, I should sing) and the *past conditional* or *future-past* in the past (j'aurais chanté, I should have sung). These two tenses of the *indicative* mood are also tenses of a new mood, the *conditional*.

We thus find that the Latin verb suffered important losses, and that, to compensate for them, a still more important creation of new forms took place in Gallo-Romanic and French. As we see, these new forms were made in two ways: (1) *past* tenses were formed in Gallo-Romanic by combining the *past participle* with the auxiliaries; (2) a *future* and a *conditional* were formed by combining the *infinitive* with the auxiliary. We have now to examine these two kinds of combination.

217. NEW FORMATION OF PAST TENSES.—By the combination of the *past participle* with the auxiliary *habere*, and

in certain intransitive verbs with the auxiliary *esse*, a new system of compound tenses was introduced into Gallo-Romanic, which exactly corresponded with the *simple* tenses in Latin.

In Latin the verb *habere* was already used freely with the perfect participle: *habeo scriptam epistolam*, = *I have a letter written*, or, in Modern French, *j'ai (lâ) écrite une lettre*. In Romanic this construction was developed and extended even to intransitive verbs, so that in the active conjugation in Romance languages there exists a double series of tenses, the *simple* and the *compound*:

Simple Tenses.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present	<i>je chante</i> (canto)
Imperfect	<i>je chantais</i> (cantabam)
Preterite	<i>je chantai</i> (cantavi)
Future	<i>je chanterai</i> (cantabo)

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

Present	<i>je chanterais</i> (new tense)
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SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present	<i>que je chante</i> (cantem)
Imperfect	<i>que je chantasse</i> (cantassem)

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Present	<i>chante</i> (canta)
-----------------	-----------------------

INFINTIVE MOOD.

Present	<i>chanter</i> (cantare)
-----------------	--------------------------

PARTICIPLES.

Present	<i>chantant</i> (cantantem, cantando)
-----------------	---------------------------------------

Compound Tenses.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Perfect	<i>j'ai chanté</i> (new tense)
1st Pluperfect	<i>j'avais chanté</i> (cantaveram)
2nd Pluperfect	<i>j'eus chanté</i> (new tense)
Future perfect	<i>j'aurai chanté</i> (cantavero)

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

Past *j'aurais chanté* (new tense)

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Perfect *que j'aie chanté* (cantaverim)

Pluperfect *que j'eusse chanté* (cantavisse)

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Perfect *aie chanté* (new tense)

INFINITIVE MOOD.

Perfect *avoir chanté* (cantavisse)

PARTICIPLES.

Perfect *ayant chanté* (new tense)

Thus, by means of this large series of compound tenses, French acquired the power of expressing many important shades of meaning unattainable in the mother language. (See also the Syntax of the Verb, Book IV.)

218. NEW FORMATION OF THE FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL.

—The terminations of the Latin future were different in the different conjugations [1st conjugation, *canta-bo*; 2nd, *debe-bo*; 3rd, *leg-am*; 4th, *audi-am*]. That was a first complexity. In addition, the 1 sing. of the future of the 3rd and 4th conjugations was identical in form with the 1 sing. of the present subjunctive of the same conjugations. Lastly, the weakening of certain sounds in pronunciation led to fresh confusion. Thus the 3 sing. future *cantabit* came to be pronounced *cantavit*, like the corresponding person of the perfect. Hence the popular language was forced to use periphrases, which led to the loss of the Latin future and became the origin of a new future.

In Roumanian the verb *will* was used with the infinitive [as in English]: the future *eu voiî face* corresponds word for word to the French *je veux faire*¹. In the Roumansch

¹ In the eastern and southern provinces of France the Romanic future is often replaced, in popular usage, by the combination of *vouloir* with the

districts (see Book I, p. 7) the auxiliaries *to come* and *to go* are used, corresponding word for word to the French : *je viens faire, je vais faire*. In the other Romance tongues a combination of *habere* with the infinitive was adopted, e.g. *facere habeo* = *I have to do*, which has become the Modern French future [*je*] *ferai*. This last form is the one which concerns us. It implied originally two ideas : that of *obligation* and that of the *future*. The former of these two ideas was gradually lost, so that the periphrase came to express the idea of the future solely, and thus became precisely synonymous with the Latin future.

In the future of certain dialects of Sardinia the form derived from *habere* has remained distinct, and may precede the infinitive. Although the fusion of the auxiliary with the infinitive is elsewhere complete, in Old Spanish and in Modern Portuguese it is still permissible in certain cases to interpolate a pronoun between the infinitive and the termination representing the present of the Latin *habere*. In the oldest Provençal there are also some examples of the separation of these two constituents of the future. In French from the time of the *Oaths of Strasburg* (842 A.D.) the auxiliary and infinitive have been inseparable : *si salvarai eo* (Mod. F. *ainsi sauverai-je*) ; *aurai* — (*aurai*) ; *prindrai* (*prendrai*).

A proof of this origin of the future is the complete agreement between the conjugation of the verbs derived in Romance languages from the Latin *habere* and the inflexions of the future in those languages. Thus in Italian we have : *ho* (*I have*) and *canter-ò* (*I will sing*) ; in Spanish : *he* and *cantar-é* ; in French and Provençal : *ai* and *chanter-ai, cantar-ai*. In certain Italian dialects we find for 'I have' *aggio*, and for 'I will sing' *canter-aggio*.

infinitive : the physician declares that the patient *seut mourir demain*, where a Parisian would say *mourra demain*.

[The use of the English *will* is, of course, precisely similar, the difference between the auxiliary and emphatic use of *will* being rendered by difference in the place of the stress : *he will go out* ; *he WILL go out.*]

The French *conditional* is formed from the infinitive and imperfect indicative of the verb *avoir*. Take the sentence: *Je crois qu'il partira demain*. Etymologically it is equivalent to: *Je crois qu'il a à partir demain, I think that he has to go to-morrow*. Take now the sentence: *Je croyais qu'il partirait hier*. It is evidently equivalent to: *Je croyais qu'il avait à partir hier, I thought that he had to go yesterday*. *Partirait* denotes an action that is future relatively to another, both actions being, however, past. *Partirait* is then, in its first sense, a future in the past. The simple future is expressed by the combination of the present of *avoir* with the infinitive; the future *in the past* by a similar combination of the imperfect of *avoir* with the infinitive, the infinitive expressing the idea of the future, the imperfect expressing that of the past.

Besides this sense, the tense in question expresses also the idea of a condition, the *conditional* idea. In *il partirait s'il le pouvait* (*he would go if he could*), *partirait* denotes a future action depending on a condition. This new idea no longer corresponds to that sense of the imperfect *avait* which we have just analysed; the imperfect here has a significance other than that which is habitually expressed by this tense. Latin had no *conditional* mood. It expressed the conditional idea either by the subjunctive or the indicative. It is a conditional that we have here in reality in the form of *avait*. If this second sense of *il partirait* had been developed by a process parallel to that which produced its first sense (and also the future), it would have come not from a form meaning 'he had to go,' but from a form meaning 'he would have to go'.

Thus were formed these two tenses which were originally compound and have now become simple, the future and conditional; they now possess corresponding compound tenses: *future perfect*, I shall have sung (*j'aurai chanté*); *conditional past*, I should or would have sung (*j'aurais chanté*).

¹ See Syntax (§ 45a II. iv.).

We must observe that in the combination of the infinitive with the present or imperfect of the auxiliary *avoir* the syllable *-av-* (Latin *-hab-*) was lost when it was not accented: *partirons*, *partires*, stand for *partiravons*, *partiraves*; *partirais* stands for *partiravais*, &c.¹ This loss is not due to any phonetic action other than a need for simplification: the forms *partiravons*, *partiraves*, were too heavy and too long to persist.²

III. Persons.

The three Latin persons of the singular and plural have been preserved in French. But the personal inflexion which forms the termination has been more or less modified under phonetic action or the influence of analogy, and the radical also, in certain determined cases, underwent changes which differed according to the position of the *tempus forte*.

219. FIRST PERSON SINGULAR.—I. Except in the first conjugation (*je chante, je chantai, chante*³), and in the form *ai* from *avoir*, the first persons of the present and the preterite (and also the second person of the imperative) now end with an *s*: *je dors, je pars, je rends; je dormis, je partis; vois, prends, bois*. This *s* originally existed only in verbs of which the corresponding first person in Latin ended with *-sco*, *-ceo*, or *-cio*: *cognosco, conois* (Mod. F. *connais*, from *connaitre*); *creasco, creis* (Mod. F. *crois*, from

¹ The contraction is especially curious in the future and conditional of the verb *avoir*: *aurons, auras*, are the contractions from *auravons, auraves*, i.e. for *haber-habemus, haber-habebis*. *Aurais* is a contraction from *auravais*, i.e. *haber-habebam*, &c.

² The examination in detail of the verbal forms that have resulted from this compound formation of the future and conditional will be resumed in § 227.

³ [And in the verbs *offrir, souffrir, couvrir, cueillir*, and *saillir*, for which see p. 372.]

croître); *pascō, pais* (Mod. F. *pais*, from *pastre*); *facio, fas, placeo, plas; taceo, tas*¹.

Whence, then, comes this *s*? It has been asserted, and is still sometimes asserted, that it is due to the analogical action of the second person. But how could the second person have imposed its *s* on the first person, since from the 12th century this *s* was no longer pronounced before a following consonant? Besides, if this explanation were true, why should not there be an *s* in the first person of the present of the indicative in the first conjugation also? Why should not *je chantes* have resulted from the form *tu chantes*?

The historical study of the facts shows that the *s* is due originally to analogy with verbs in which this consonant forms part of the radical. It appears from the 12th century, first in *je suis*, modelled on the type of *je puis* (from the Lat. *possum*); and its use increased gradually and became almost general in the 16th century. However, at that period (and even in the 17th century) poets still used the old and correct forms for the rhymed endings of their lines: *je voi, je doi, je croi, je vien, je tien; je parti, je fini, je reçu; vien, crain, tien, aperçoi, &c.*, whilst in the middle of the lines they used the new analogical forms with the *s*, which agreed with the popular pronunciation. The following line from Racine: '*Je croi tout, je vous crois invincible*' (*Alexandre*, iv. 2), in which *croi* is spelt without an *s* before a consonant, and takes an *s* before a vowel, shows us

¹ And also in *vado, O. F. vois* (Mod. F. *vais*); *rego, O. F. ruis* (no Mod. F. form); *tripo, O. F. truis* (Mod. F. *trouve*); *dono, O. F. doins* (Mod. F. *donne*); *poteo, puis*. The *s* or *z* was also in Old French the termination of the 1st person of the present indicative in verbs of the first conjugation of which the corresponding Latin forms ended in *-so, -tio, -cio*: *es, pris, commens, balans* [Lat. **puso, *pretio, *cuminatio, bilancio*].

The modern forms *fais, plais, tais* (from *faire, plaisir, taire*), which correspond to the O. F. *fas, plas, tas*, are not derived phonetically from these latter, but were created by analogy with the 2nd persons singular.

popular pronunciation in the very act of overcoming literary tradition. At the end of the 17th century the use of the *s* became general; the earlier forms are only to be found in the works of a few poets, in which they were employed occasionally for the sake of the rhyme. They had become absolute archaisms, used only by poetic licence.

2. The final *e* mute of the 1st person singular of the present indicative and of the present subjunctive of the 1st conjugation is, like the *s* in the verbs that we have just discussed, not primitive. The forms corresponding in Old French to *canto*, *cantem*, were *je chant*, *que je chant*, not *je chante*, *que je chante*. The *e* was only put in where it was needed as a 'supporting vowel': *j'entre*, *je tremble*, &c. (§§ 47, 231).

Now, whenever the 1st person ended in the 16th century with an *e* mute, this *e* mute took the *tempus forte* and was changed into close *é* in the interrogative or exclamatory construction, in which the subject is placed after the verb: *chanté-je*, *puissé-je* (*do I sing? may I*, &c.), a truly barbarous deformation of the verbal termination. In Old French correct forms were used: *entre-jo*, *puisse-jo* (or with the form *gié* of the personal pronoun: *entre-gié*, *puisse-gié*); just as in the modern language we say *chantes-tu*, *puisses-tu*.

The reduction of the personal pronoun to the atonic form *je* led to the forms *chanté-je*, *puissé-je*, with the *tempus forte* on the radical of the verb, in the proparoxyton position, the pronoun being closely united with the verb. The accented syllable was thus followed by two consecutive atonics, a sound-sequence which is found intolerable in French (see § 46). Hence a displacement of the *tempus forte* ensued, and the atonic *e* of the final syllable of the verb was changed into an accented close *é*: *chanté-je*, *puissé-je*. In the 17th century the final *e* of *je* became mute, and in our own times the final close *é* of the verb has become open *è*. Hence the present forms are spelt *chanté-je*, *puissé-je*, but pronounced *chantéj'*, *puisséj'*. In

the 17th century, under the influence of analogy, an attempt was made to extend this barbarous form to the verbs of the other conjugations and to use barbarisms stranger still. The forms *entendé-je*, *rompé-je*, *sorté-je*, were used instead of *entends-je*, *romps-je*, *sors-je*, &c. But this usage, condemned by Vaugelas, soon disappeared.

Moreover, among verbs not belonging to the first conjugation the use of the construction with the pronoun *je* placed after the verb became still more restricted, and even obsolete in the case of certain verbs with which it had once been employed. It is now seldom found except with a few verbs: *suis-je*, *dis-je*, *fais-je*, *dois-je*; there is a growing tendency to discard it in the verbs of conjugations other than the first: *veux-je*, *prétends-je*, *sens-je*, *dors-je*; and even with those of the first: *chanté-je*, &c. The construction is replaced by a heavy and disagreeable circumlocution: *est-ce que je chante*, *je veux*, &c.¹ (See Book IV, §§ 416, 417.)

220. SECOND PERSON SINGULAR.—The second person ends in all tenses of all conjugations with an *s*, represented in certain cases by an *x*: *tu peux*, *tu veux* (§ 106). This sibilant final has become so characteristic of the second person that it has imposed itself on the preterite, in which, according to etymology, it should not occur, the Latin termination from which the French form is derived being *-sti*: for *cantasti* we find *chantas* instead of *chantast*; for *finisti*, *finis* instead of *finist*. The final *t* was probably only dropped, leaving the characteristic *s* as a final, because in all the other tenses the second person ended with an *s*.

In the present indicative and present subjunctive of the first conjugation the final *s* became silent from the 16th century. This is why in the poetry of this and a later period we find the last atonic syllable of the second person

¹ [Cf. the English circumlocution *Do I sing*, &c.]

in these tenses elided. It was even suppressed altogether by certain grammarians of the time.

221. THIRD PERSON SINGULAR.—In cases where the third person of verbs ends with a vowel, a *t*, called the *euphonic t*, is intercalated between the verb and the subject when the latter follows and is formed by one of the pronouns *il* or *elle*, or the indefinite substantive *on*: *aime-t-il*, *a-t-il*, *puisse-t-elle*, *a-t-on*, *dira-t-on*. It was thought for a long time that this *t* came from the primitive form of the 3 sing. of the verbs of the 1st conjugation. The Latin *cantat* was indeed represented in the 11th century by the French *chantet*. *Chante-t-on* would, according to this theory, stand for *cantat homo*. But this explanation is wrong, because the euphonic *t* is hardly to be found before the 16th century, whereas the *t* of *chantet*, &c., dropped at the end of the 11th century. As a matter of fact, the *t* is simply due to the influence of analogy with the 3rd persons singular of the present indicative in the three other conjugations: *il dit—dit-il*; *il reçoit—reçoit-il*; *il finit—finit-il*; and with the 3 sing. of the imperfect indicative and the 3 plur. of all tenses in all conjugations: *chantait-il*, *chantent-ils*, *chantaient-ils*, *chanteraient-ils*, *chanteront-ils*, &c. Thus in almost all interrogative or exclamatory clauses the verb ended with a *t* connected in sound with the subjects following: *ils*, *il*; *elles*, *elle*. Hence it was but a small step to extend the use of the *t* to those persons which did not possess it, and this was done during the second half of the period of Middle French: *aime-t-il*, *aima-t-on*, *aimera-t-elle*. When this construction became definitively established it led to the rejection of the euphonic use of *P* (= *le*) with the substantive *on* (*Pon*) in such clauses; thus *dit-on*, *dira Pon*, became in the 17th century *dit-on*, *dira-t-on*. In familiar speech the use of this *t* has been extended to the verbal proposition with *voilà*¹:

¹ [This is called a verbal proposition because *voilà* = *voici*; *là* : *voici* = *voici*(s) *ici*.]

voilà-t-il, ne voilà-t-il pas. This turn of phrase has led to the creation of an interrogative or exclamatory particle *ti*, which was adopted in the 17th century in popular speech, is daily gaining ground, and will perhaps establish itself in the language finally, in spite of the Academy and literary tradition¹.

222. FIRST PERSON PLURAL.—In all verbs and tenses, except the preterite, this person now ends in *-ons*. In Old French there existed the three forms: *-omes*, *-oms* (later *ons*), *-om* (or *on*). The original form was *-oms*.

The termination *-oms* (*-ons*) cannot be explained by any of the corresponding forms of the Latin verb. In the 1st conjugation *-amus* should have given *-ains*; in the 2nd conjugation *-emus* should have given *-eins*; in the 3rd, *imus*, being atonic, should have given nothing; in the 4th, *imus* should have given *-ins*.

The inflexion *-oms* (*-ons*) is in fact derived from *sumus*, the 1 plur. of the present indicative of *esse*, which according to rule became *soms*. Besides this regular form we find another form *somes*; the *e* was probably introduced under the influence of *esmes*, another form of the 1st person plural of *être*, from the Gallo-Romanic *esumus*, which was itself an analogical form modelled on the 2nd person plural *estis*, and used for a long period during the Middle Ages². The language, feeling the necessity of denoting the 1 plur. by a uniform termination, selected that belonging to the verb *être*. Thus in Old French the 1 plur. of the various tenses of *chanter* came to be *nous chantomes*, or *nous chantons*; *nous chantiomes*, or *nous chantions*; *nous chanteromes*, or *nous chanterons*, these

¹ E. g. *suis-jà-ti* for *suis-je*. See A. Darmesteter, *De la Création actuelle des Mots Nouveaux*, p. 4.

² On the other hand, *soms* itself changed into a rare form, *som* or *son*; the loss of the final *s* was doubtless due to a temporary effort to make the 1 plur. like the 1 sing., and to keep the *s* exclusively as a characteristic sign of the 2nd and persons singular and plural.

being modelled on the alternative forms for the verb *être*: *somus* *somes* and *nous* *sons*. At the end of the Middle Ages a distinction was made with regard to the use of the two forms *-omes* and *-ons*: *-omes* was exclusively reserved for the present indicative of the verb *être*—*nous sommes*¹; for all other verbs in all their tenses, except the preterite, and even for all other tenses of the verb *être*, except the preterite, the inflexion *-ons* was adopted: *nous chantons*, *nous chantions*, *nous étions*, *nous serons*, &c.

223. SECOND PERSON PLURAL.—Except in the case of the perfect (*-istis*), the terminations of the 2 plur. of the different tenses in Latin were: *-istis*, *-stis*, *-itis*, and *-itis*. We need not here deal with the termination of the 3rd Latin conjugation *-itis*, which, not being accented, was lost: *fac(1)itis*, *faciles*; *dic(1)itis*, *diles* (§ 46).

The terminations *-stis*, *-stis*, and *-itis* became in French *-es* and *-eis*. In the earliest texts we find both these terminations: in the northern and eastern dialects, in the 13th century, *-eis* became *-ois*. But in the dialects of the Ile de France the use of the termination *-es* was extended, owing to analogy, to all 2nd persons plural of all but the preterite tenses of all verbs, excepting *faire*, *dire*, &c., referred to above: *dev-es*, *devi-es*, *devr-es*, *devri-es*, *dussi-es*, *vendr-es*, &c. The forms for the preterite in *-astes*, *-istes*, *-ustes* (Mod. F. *-âtes*, *-îtes*, *-ûtes*), are perhaps due to the influence of the form *estes*.

224. THIRD PERSON PLURAL.—In Latin we find the following terminations: *-ant* (*cant-ant*, *cantab-ant*, *debeant*, &c.), *-ent* (*deb-ent*, *cant-ent*, *cantass-ent*, &c.), *-unt* (*leg-unt*, *cantar-unt*, *sunt*, &c.), which are atonic in all cases, except in some monosyllables, as *stant*, *sunt*. In

¹ [The O. F. form *somes* was changed later into *sommes*, purely for orthographical reasons, in order to show that the *e* is open and not close.]

French¹ these terminations were reduced to a single atonic form *-ent*: *chant-ent*, *doiv-ent*, *lis-ent*, *chantass-ent*, *chantèr-ent*, &c.

As this termination consisted of an atonic *e* feminine, followed by a group of two consonants, which formed a syllable that was very hard to pronounce, in the Middle Ages the *n* was lost and *-ent* was pronounced *-et*. Then, in the 16th century, the final *t*, in its turn, was dropped in pronunciation when the word following began with a consonant; and somewhat later on the *e* became silent. Thus originated the modern pronunciation of the 3rd person plural, in which the *-ent* has ceased in most cases to be pronounced, unless the verb is connected by *liaison* with a following word beginning with a vowel, when the *t* alone is now sounded.

The Gallo-Romanic dialects, dealing with the same difficulties as the common language, turned the obstacle, not by a change in the group *-nt*, but by simply displacing the accent: *oñtant*, which gave *chantent*, became *cantant*, which became *chantant*. From the 10th century we find *ocesisqnt* occurring for the 3 plur. of the imperfect subjunctive *ocesissent*, which afterwards became *ocèissent*, *ocèissent* (from *ocir*, *occir*, to *slay*). This syllable *-ant*, accented, became later on identical in pronunciation with the final syllable of the 1st person plural. Hence the conjugation of country folks: *nous chantons* (= *ohātō*), *ils chantent* (= *ohātō*).

225. PRESENT PARTICIPLE AND GERUND.—To these general considerations on verbal inflexions we must add a remark on the present participle and gerund.

In the first Latin conjugation these two tenses of the infinitive ended in *-antem* (accusative case) and *-ando* (ablative case): *cant-antem*, *cant-ando*. The terminations

¹ Except in *hèbent*, *ont*; *sunt*, *sont*; *spèiunt*, *spèiunt*, *font*; *vèdunt*, *vèdunt*, *vont*.

in the other conjugations were *-entem, -endo*: *deb-entem, deb-endo*; or *-ientem, -iendo*: *aud-ientem, aud-iendo*. The other Romance languages merely reduced *-ientem, -iendo*, to *-entem, -endo*, and thus had two terminations: *-ante, -ando*, and *-ente, -endo*; but in French, towards the 7th or 8th century, owing to the tendency, already noted, of reducing verbal inflexions to a single type, *-ente* was replaced by *-ante*, and *-endo* by *-ando*. Hence we find in French only one termination *-ant*, common to all the active participles and gerunds of all conjugations: *lisant, en lisant*.

IV. Form of the Radical.

The radical in the various forms of the verb underwent various modifications, owing to the incidence of the *tempus forte* on different vowels: (i) in the three persons singular and in the 3 plur. of the present indicative and present subjunctive, and the 2 sing. of the imperative; (ii) in the future and conditional. The radical was also in some instances modified in the preterite, in the past participle, and in some persons of other tenses, owing to special causes. These last modifications occur in the dead conjugation, and will be considered in § 250. We shall only consider for the present the modifications produced by the varying position of the accent in the 1, 2, and 3 sing. and the 3 plur. of the three present tenses (indicative, imperative, and subjunctive), and in the future and conditional.

226. ON THE PART PLAYED BY THE TEMPUS FORTE IN THE THREE PRESENT TENSES.—The *tempus forte* fell on the radical in the 1, 2, and 3 sing., and the 3 plur., in the three present tenses of all verbs (except in the inchoative conjugation in *-iscō* (§§ 244-246)). On the contrary, the 1 and 2 plur. took the *tempus forte* on the inflexion in nearly all the verbal forms:

Indicative.	Imperative.	Subjunctive.
canto		cantom
cantas	canta	cantes
cantat		cantet
cantant		cantent

but:

cantamus	(cantamus)	cantemus
cantatis	(cantatis)	cantetis

We know that when the vowel of the radical was accented and stopped—that is, followed by two consonants—it was in general preserved (§ 50). On the contrary, when it was free, it was in general transformed into another vowel or a diphthong.

(i) The vowel *a* when accented and free was changed, as a rule, into *e* (§ 51, 4):

	Indicative.		Imperative.		Subjunctive.	
1 sing.	lavo	<i>lef</i>			lavem	<i>lef</i>
2 sing.	lavas	<i>laves</i>	lava	<i>leve</i>	laves	<i>lefs, les</i>
3 sing.	lavat	<i>levet</i>			lavet	<i>level</i>
3 plur.	lavant	<i>levant</i>			lavent	<i>levant</i>

but when atonic did not undergo this change (§ 57):

1 plur.	lavamus	lavons	lavamus	lavons	lavamus	lavons
2 plur.	lavatis	laves	lavatis	laves	lavatis	laves ¹

This conjugation has left a trace in *appāre*, *apparoir*; *appāret*, *il appert*, the only two existing forms of this defective verb.

(ii) But *a*, free and accented, when followed by a nasal, was changed into *ai* (§ 55):

¹ The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative: *je lave, tu laves, il lave, nous lavons, vous lavez, ils lavent*; Imperative: *lave, lavons, laves*; Subjunctive: *que je lave, que tu laves, qu'il lave, que nous lavions, que vous laviez, qu'ils lavent*.

	Indicative.	Imperative.	Subjunctive.
1 sing. <i>amo</i>	<i>aim</i>		<i>amem aim</i>
2 sing. <i>amas</i>	<i>aines</i>	<i>ama aime</i>	<i>ames ains</i>
3 sing. <i>amat</i>	<i>aimet</i>		<i>amet ainet</i>
3 plur. <i>amant</i>	<i>aiment</i>		<i>ament aiment</i>

but when atonic did not undergo this change :

1 plur. <i>amamus</i>	<i>amons</i>	<i>amamus amons</i>	<i>amamus amons</i>
2 plur. <i>amatis</i>	<i>ames</i>	<i>amatis ames</i>	<i>amatis ames</i> ¹

In Modern French, *either* the accented *or* the atonic form alone has been adopted throughout the conjugation of any given verb. Thus we say *nous aimons, vous aimez, &c.* In this verb the atonic form has only been preserved in the archaic *amé* (from *amatum*), and in the participial substantive *amant* (*lover*) (from *amantem*). On the other hand, we say *il clame, &c.*, instead of *il clame* (*olamat*), *&c.*, owing to analogy with the forms *nous clamons* (*olamamus*), *&c.*

(iii) *ē* accented and open became *ie* (§ 51, 2) :

	Indicative.	Imperative.	Subjunctive.
1 sg. <i>venio</i>	<i>viens</i>		<i>veniam vienne</i>
2 sg. <i>venis</i>	<i>viens</i>	<i>veni viens</i>	<i>venias viennes</i>
3 sg. <i>venit</i>	<i>vient</i>		<i>veniat vienne</i>
3 pl. <i>veniunt</i>	<i>viennent</i>		<i>veniant viennent</i>

but :

1 pl. <i>venimus</i>	<i>venons</i>	<i>venimus venons</i>	<i>veniamus venions</i>
2 pl. <i>venitis</i>	<i>venez</i>	<i>venitis venez</i>	<i>veniatis veniez</i>

Similarly we have the forms *tenere, tenir; teneat, il tient;—querere, quérir; quærit, il quiert;—levare, lever; levat, il lieve*, the form in *-ie-* being preserved in (*re*)*lief*, a verbal substantive derived from *relever* (§ 308, V).

¹ The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative: *j'aime, tu aimes, il aime, nous aimons, vous aimez, ils aiment*; Imperative: *aime, aimons, aimez*; Subjunctive: *que j'aime, que tu aimes, qu'il aime, que nous aimions, que vous aimiez, qu'ils aiment*.

(iv) *Ē* accented and close [Latin *ē* and *ī*] became *ei*, and later *oi* (§§ 51, 3 and 93):

Indicative.			Indicative.		
1 sg.	<i>dēbeo</i> , * <i>dēio</i>	<i>doi</i> ¹	<i>recipio</i> , * <i>recepō</i>	<i>reçois</i> ²	
2 sg.	<i>dēbes</i>	<i>dois</i>	<i>recepis</i>	<i>reçois</i>	
3 sg.	<i>dēbet</i>	<i>doit</i>	<i>recepit</i>	<i>reçoit</i>	
3 pl.	<i>dēbent</i>	<i>doivent</i>	<i>recepunt</i>	<i>reçoivent</i>	
but:					
1 pl.	<i>dēbēmus</i>	<i>devons</i>	<i>recepimus</i>	<i>recevons</i>	
2 pl.	<i>dēbētis</i>	<i>devez</i>	<i>recepitis</i>	<i>recevez</i>	

(v) *Ō* accented and open became *uo*, *uə*, *oə*, *eu* (§§ 51, 2 and 94):

**tropare*, *trouver* **tropat*, *trueve*, *treuve* (Mod. F. *trouve*)
probare, *prouver* *probat*, *prueve*, *preuve* (Mod. F. *prouve*)
 **morire*, *mourir* **mōrit*, *meurt*
 **potere*, *pouvoir* **pōtet*, *peut*
 **volere*, *vouloir* **vōlet*, *veut*
dolere, *douloir* *dōlet*, *deut* (used until the 16th cent.).

(vi) *Ō* accented and close became *eu* (§ 51, 3):

colare, *couler*; *colat*, *queule* (Mod. F. *coule*)

plorare, *plourer* (Mod. F. *pleurer*); *plorat*, *pleure*

(vii) *Ē* open, followed by a palatal (§ 54, 2), gave the following conjugation:

precare: *je prie*, *tu pries*, *il prie*, *ils prient*; but *nous preyon* (*proyons*³); *vous preyes* (*proyes*⁴) (see § 93).

Similarly, with *ō* open before a palatal (§ 54, 2), we have:

appodiare: *j'appuie*, *tu appuies*, *il appuie*, *ils appuient*; but *nous appoyons*, *vous appoyes* (Mod. F. *appuyons*, *appuyes*).

¹ Mod. F. *je dois*.

² Mod. F. *prie*.

³ Mod. F. *je reçois*.

⁴ Mod. F. *prie*.

(viii) There is a last case, differing from the preceding ones: namely when the persons of which the penultimate vowel bore the *tempus forte* consisted of more than two syllables; the penultimate vowel was then necessarily long (§ 40, 3), and was therefore preserved in the persons in question; but, in those persons of which the termination was accented, this penultimate vowel, becoming atonic, was dropped, according to the rule relating to atonic vowels (§ 48):

Indicative.		Imperative.	Subjunctive.	
<i>aïqto</i>	<i>aïu</i>		<i>aïqtem</i>	<i>aïu</i>
<i>aïqtas</i>	<i>aïues</i>	<i>aïûta aïue</i>	<i>aïqtas</i>	<i>aïues</i>
<i>aïqtat</i>	<i>aïuet</i>		<i>aïqtet</i>	<i>aïuet</i>
<i>aïqtant</i>	<i>aïuent</i>		<i>aïqtent</i>	<i>aïuent</i>

but :

<i>aïutsmus aïdons</i>	<i>aïûtsmus aïdons</i>
<i>aïûtqtis aïdies</i>	<i>aïûtqtis aïdies</i> ¹

Similarly with the conjugation in Old French of (1) the verb *parler* (*parabolare*, **paraulare*):

Indicative.	Imperative.	Subjunctive.
<i>je parol</i>		<i>que je parol</i>
<i>tu paroles</i>	<i>parole</i>	<i>que tu parols</i>
<i>il parolet</i>		<i>que il parolet</i>
<i>nous parlons</i>	<i>parlons</i>	<i>que nous parlons</i>
<i>vous parles</i>	<i>parles</i>	<i>que vous parles</i>
<i>ils parolent</i>		<i>que ils parolent</i> ²

and of (2) the verb *raisonner* (*rationare*):

¹ The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative: *j'aide*, *tu aides*, *il aide*, *nous aidons*, *vous aides*, *ils aident*; Imperative: *aide*, *aidons*, *aides*; Subjunctive: *que j'aide*, *que tu aides*, *qu'il aide*, *que nous aidions*, *que vous aidiez*, *qu'ils aident*.

² The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative: *je parle*, *tu parles*, *il parle*, *nous parlons*, *vous parles*, *ils parlent*; Imperative: *parle*, *parlons*, *parles*; Subjunctive: *que je parle*, *que tu parles*, *qu'il parle*, *que nous parlions*, *que vous parliez*, *qu'ils parlent*.

Indicative.	Imperative.	Subjunctive.
<i>je raison</i>		<i>que je raison</i>
<i>tu raisonne</i>	<i>raisonne</i>	<i>que tu raisons</i>
<i>il raisonne</i>		<i>qu'il raison</i>
<i>nous raisonnons</i>	<i>raisonnons</i>	<i>que nous raisonnons</i>
<i>vous raisniez</i>	<i>raisniez</i>	<i>que vous raisniez</i>
<i>ils raisonnent</i>		<i>qu'ils raisonnent</i> ¹

Such then was the varied series of forms of the Old French conjugation developed under the influence of the *tempus forte*.

From the end of the Middle Ages the language sought to simplify these forms and began to unify the conjugation. In some cases the *accented* forms prevailed, for instance in *aimer*, *pleurer*, *raisonner*; in others the *atonic* form, for example in *couler*, *laver*, *parler*. It is difficult to determine the reasons which caused the one to prevail in a given instance rather than the other. At the present day no traces of these double forms exist in the living conjugations. The last examples date from the 17th century, and are to be found in Molière: *on treuve* (see § 226, v; *Misanthrope*, i. 1); and in La Fontaine: *je treuve* (*Fables*, ii. 20). But in the dead conjugation numerous specimens of the double forms still exist: *je tiens*, *nous tenons*; *je meurs*, *nous mourons*; *je puis* or *je peux*, *nous pouvons*, &c. (§ 253).

227. ON THE PART PLAYED BY THE TEMPUS FORTE IN THE FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL.—We know that these two tenses were formed by the combination of the infinitive with the present and the imperfect of *habere* (§ 218): *cantare habeo*, *cantarabio*, *cantaraio*; *cantare habebam*, *cantarebeba*, *cantareveva*, *cantareva*, *cantarea*. Now in the forms

¹ The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative: *je raisonne*, *tu raisonne*, *il raisonne*, *nous raisonnons*, *vous raisonnez*, *ils raisonnent*; Imperative: *raisonne*, *raisonnons*, *raisonnez*; Subjunctive: *que je raisonne*, *que tu raisonne*, *qu'il raisonne*, *que nous raisonnions*, *que vous raisniez*, *qu'ils raisonnent*.

cantar^o, cantar^a, the accent is on a in ^o, on e in ^a. Consequently the a of -are, that was accented in the infinitive when isolated, cant^are, became the atonic counterfinal in the new compounds cantar^o, cantar^a. Hence, in virtue of known laws (§ 48), this a became an e mute in these forms : *je chanterai, je chanterais*.

In virtue of the same laws, vowels other than a in the same position, when they were not protected by consonant-groups, were lost. We find therefore :

Future.		Infinitive.	
cantar ^o	<i>chanter-ai</i>	cant ^a re	<i>chanter</i>
deb ^{er} a ^o	<i>deur-ai</i>	deb ^{er} e	<i>devoir</i>
ten ^{er} a ^o	<i>tendr-ai, tiendrai</i>	ten ^{er} e	<i>tenir</i>
val ^{er} a ^o	<i>valdr-ai, vaudrai</i>	val ^{er} e	<i>valoir</i>
*oad ^{er} a ^o	<i>chedr-ai, cherrai</i>	oad ^{er} e	<i>cheoir</i>
vid ^{er} a ^o	<i>vedr-ai, verr-ai</i>	vid ^{er} e	<i>veoir, voir</i>
sed ^{er} a ^o	<i>sedr-ai, serr-ai</i>	sed ^{er} e	<i>seoir</i>
*recip ^{er} a ^o	<i>receur-ai</i>	recip ^{er} e	<i>recevoir</i>
ven ^{ir} a ^o	<i>vendr-ai, viendr-ai</i>	ven ^{ir} e	<i>venir</i>
mor ^{ir} a ^o	<i>morr-ai, mourr-ai</i>	mor ^{ir} e	<i>mourir</i>
aud ^{ir} a ^o	<i>odr-ai, orr-ai</i>	aud ^{ir} e	<i>otr, outr, &c.</i>

Thus may be explained these formations of the future, which at first seem so strange, but which really show a regular application of phonetic laws. In Modern French most of the original forms, although normal from the etymological standpoint, have been simplified, as far as possible, under the unifying action of analogy. We shall see in the following section to what extent the language has remained faithful to its older usage.

SECTION II.—*The different Conjugations.*

228. On the revolution in the system of conjugation during the change from Latin into French.—229. The living conjugations.—230. The dead conjugation.

I. FIRST LIVING CONJUGATION (Verbs whose present infinitives end in -*er*).—231. Indicative mood.—232. Imperative mood.—233. Sub-

junctive mood.—234. Infinitive mood.—235. Compound tenses.—236. Verbs formerly ending in *-ir*.—237. Unification of the conjugation of verbs in *-er*, whose radical was subject to modification in Old French.—238. Verbs in *-er*, of which the final close *é* in the infinitive is preceded by an *e* mute or another close *é*.—239. Verbs in *-ier*.—240. Verbs in *-er* preceded by a vowel.—241. Verbs in *-ger*, *-cer*.—242. The irregular verbs *envoyer* and *aller*.

II. SECOND LIVING CONJUGATION (INCHOATIVE VERBS).—243. The inchoative particle *-iss-*.—244. Indicative mood.—245. Imperative mood.—246. Subjunctive mood.—247. Infinitive mood.—248. The irregular verbs *bénir*, *fleurir*, *haïr*, *vêtir*.

III. THE DEAD CONJUGATION.—249. The dead conjugation.—250. Pretérito and past participle.—251. Infinitive, future, and conditional.—252. Present participle.—253. The three present tenses in the dead conjugation.—254. Peculiarities of certain verbs.

Introduction.

228. ON THE REVOLUTION IN THE SYSTEM OF CONJUGATION DURING THE CHANGE FROM LATIN INTO FRENCH.—Latin possessed four conjugations, of which the present infinitive terminations were :

I. <i>-āre</i>	III. <i>-ere</i>
II. <i>-ēre</i>	IV. <i>-ire</i>

The Latin system was revolutionized as a whole during its passage into French. The 1st conjugation alone remained untouched; the others were more or less completely fused together and underwent such changes as to form an altogether new system.

There is no example of a verb of the 1st conjugation having passed into another conjugation. All those Latin verbs in *-āre* which survived in the popular language have become French verbs in *-er*.

The conjugations other than the 1st do not show the same constancy.

A few verbs in *-āre*, *-ēre*, and *-ire*, either in the Latin period or, later, in the French period, took the inflexion *-āre*, or the corresponding French form *-er*, and so have passed into the 1st conjugation. Thus *pavire* in the

earliest French became *paver*; and the O. F. *toussir* (Lat. *tussire*) was replaced in the 16th century by *tousser*. The Latin *putare* first gave *puir*, but this was changed into the modern form *puer* in the 16th, although the form *puir* co-existed with *puer* till the 18th century. In Modern French, popular usage has introduced, in the same way, the verb *mouvoir*, from the participle *mouvant*, derived from *mouvoir*.

We shall now consider the majority of the verbs belonging to conjugations other than the 1st.

Verbs in *-ere* gave according to phonetic rule infinitives in *-oir*: *debere*, *devoir*; *habere*, *avoir*, &c.

Verbs in *-ere* gave according to phonetic rule infinitives in *-re*: *dicere*, *dire*; *legere*, *lire*; *rumpere*, *rompre*, &c.

But, owing either to a change of suffix already effected in Popular Latin, or else to an analogical influence exercised in French by other parts of these verbs, certain Latin infinitives in *-ere* became French infinitives in *-ir* or in *-re*, and certain Latin infinitives in *-ere* became French infinitives in *-oir*: *tenere*, *tenir*; *ridere*, *rire*; *cedere*, *cheoir*, *choir*; *sapere*, *savoir*, &c.

Certain verbs have even adopted more than one form of the infinitive—(i) in Old French:

<i>manere</i>	<i>manoir</i> and <i>maindre</i> (to remain)
<i>movere</i>	<i>mouvoir</i> and <i>mouvre</i>
<i>sequere</i>	<i>sivre</i> (<i>sivre</i>) and <i>sivir</i>
<i>tollere</i>	<i>toldre</i> and <i>tollir</i>

or (ii) in Modern French:

<i>gemere</i>	<i>geindre</i> and <i>gémir</i>
<i>fallere</i>	<i>faillir</i> and <i>falloir</i>
<i>currere</i>	<i>courre</i> ¹ and <i>courir</i>

In *mucere*, *moisir*; *placere*, O.F. *plaisir*², and other

¹ In the expression *chasse à courre*.

² Only used as a substantive in Modern French; the infinitive has been replaced by *plaire* under the influence of the present indicative, *je plais, tu plais, &c.*

similar infinitives, the *é*, being preceded by a palatal, has been transformed, not into *ei*, *oi*, but into *i* (§ 54, IV).

The Latin verbs in *-īre*, which were not very numerous, have regularly given French verbs in *-ir*: *audīre*, *ouīr*; *partīre*, *partir*; *sentiīre*, *sentir*.

Thus, to sum up (omitting from consideration the few verbs which passed from other conjugations into the 1st), we find that *-are* has always been transformed into *-er*, and *-īre* into *-ir*; but *-ēre*, which should normally have given *-oir*, and *-ĕre*, which should have given *-re*, have under various influences developed in some cases into *-re*, in others into *-oir*, and in others, again, into *-ir*.

For the preterite and past participle French possesses two special terminations: *-is* and *-us* for the preterite, *-i* and *-u* for the past participle. These terminations seem to be used with equal frequency and almost at random:

	Preterite.	Past participle.
<i>sentir</i> gives	<i>je sent-is</i>	<i>sent-i</i>
<i>partir</i> „	<i>je part-is</i>	<i>part-i</i>
<i>vélir</i> „	<i>je vél-is</i>	<i>vél-u</i>
<i>courir</i> „	<i>je cour-us</i>	<i>cour-u</i>
<i>rendre</i> „	<i>je rend-is</i>	<i>rend-u</i>
<i>rire</i> „	<i>je r-is</i>	<i>r-i</i>
<i>lire</i> „	<i>je l-us</i>	<i>l-u</i>

To continue: the first person singular of the present indicative of the verbs of the 2nd Latin conjugation ended in *-eo*: *gaudeo*. In the present subjunctive the person-endings were *-eam*, *-eas*, *-eat*, &c. The atonic *e*, in hiatus, of *-eo*, *-eam*, &c., was, as we know (§ 60), changed in Popular Latin, towards the end of the Empire, into *i*, and Gallo-Romanic had in its turn changed this vowel into *yod*, *gaudeo*, *gaudeam*, *gaudeas*, becoming *gaudio*, *gaudiam*, *gaudias*, &c. On the other hand, the same persons of the same

tenses of verbs of the 4th conjugation, and of some verbs of the 3rd, ended in *-io*, *-iam*, *-ias*, &c. Now in Gallo-Romanic this *yod*, in all the cases above mentioned, was gradually dropped, so that the 2nd and 4th conjugations became, as far as these tenses were concerned, identical with those of the majority of verbs of the 3rd conjugation, of which the corresponding forms ended in *-o*, *-am*, *-as*, &c.

The result was a veritable chaos and inextricable confusion into which the language was compelled to introduce order and clearness.

Owing to a first tendency in this direction a certain number of verbs came to have the same ending for the *preterite*, in *-i* (later on *-is*), from the Latin *-ivi*, and the same ending for the *past participle*, in *-u*, from the Latin *-utum* :

Je tend-is

tend-u

Je vend-is

vend-u

Je romp-is

romp-u

But this tendency was not strong enough to lead to the formation of a single, regular, and living conjugation ; it only resulted in the analogical reduction of a certain number of the older French forms which were as yet hardly distinct from Latin.

On the other hand, there was a tendency that proved more fruitful : viz. that which led to the creation of the conjugation of the type of *finir*. There existed in Latin a number of verbs ending in the present infinitive in *-scere*, *-escere*, *-iscere*, or *-oscer*, verbs called *inchoative*¹, because they denote the beginning of an action (*inchoare*, to commence). Thus *splendēre* means *to shine* ; *splendescere*, *to begin to shine*.

In Popular Latin this termination in *-scere* was applied to a great number of verbs in *-ēre*, *-ōre*, *-īre*, which became French verbs in *-ir*, its inchoative meaning being at the same time lost. The radical was thus lengthened by the

¹ [Or *inceptive*, from *incipere* = to commence.]

interpolation of the syllable *-iso*, not in all tenses and persons, but only in those where it was necessary (in order to convert all atonic terminations into accented ones).

229. THE LIVING CONJUGATIONS.—The class of verbs of which the infinitive ended in *-ir* was developed in French with sufficient strength and perseverance to form a new *living* conjugation alongside with that in *-are*, *-ar*, *-er*.

Indeed, from the earliest times all new verbs introduced into French, whether they were created by methods of derivation, or borrowed from foreign languages, or due to the Graeco-Latin learned formation, belong to the conjugations in *-er* and *-ir* without exception, and we may safely predict that verbs introduced hereafter will also be conjugated similarly. Hence we call these two conjugations, of which the present infinitives end in *-er* and *-ir*, the *living conjugations*.

As a rule, verbs derived from substantives belong to the 1st conjugation: *plume*, *plumer*; *feuillet*, *feuilleter*; *mur*, *murer*; whilst verbs taken from adjectives belong to the 2nd conjugation: *grand*, *grandir*; *faible*, *faiblir*; *noir*, *noircir* (see Book III, § 318).

230. THE DEAD CONJUGATION.—The remaining verbs—and they are not very numerous (about eighty in all)—together form what has been justly called the *dead conjugation*. This conjugation includes some non-inchoative verbs in *-ir*, such as *bouillir*, *partir*, &c.; some verbs in *-oir*, such as *avoir*, *devoir*, *recevoir*, &c.; and some verbs in *-re*, such as *rendre*, *rire*, *rompre*, &c.

I. First Living Conjugation.

(Verbs whose present infinitives end in- *er*.)

231. INDICATIVE MOOD.—We shall take for this and all the other moods the verb *chanter*, derived from the Latin *cantare*, as our type.

1. Present indicative :

Latin.	French.
<i>canto</i>	<i>chant</i> (11th century), <i>chante</i> (13th century)
<i>cantas</i>	<i>chant-es</i>
<i>cantat</i>	<i>chant-et</i> (11th century), <i>chante</i> (12th century)
<i>cantamus</i>	<i>chant-ons</i>
<i>cantatis</i>	<i>chant-es</i>
<i>cantant</i>	<i>chant-ent</i>

1 *sing.* The primitive form was *chant*, the atonic final *o* of *canto* being dropped according to phonetic rule (§ 47). When, however, this *o* was preceded by a group of consonants requiring a supporting vowel, an *e* feminine was added: intro, *j'entre*; simulo, *je semble*; tremulo, *je tremble*. Hence towards the 13th and 14th century, under the influence of analogy, an *e* was added to the first persons of all verb-radicals ending with a consonant: *je chante*, &c. The addition of this *e* was even extended to radicals ending in a vowel: *je prie*, *je confie*. However, in the latter case we find until the middle of the 16th century the forms without the *e*: *je pri*, *je confi*, as archaisms preserved by poetic licence. It is true that in most cases, as these archaic forms were wrongly supposed to be due to the omission of an *e*, this was replaced by an apostrophe.

2 *sing.* The final *s* dropped in pronunciation in the 16th century. This explains the fact that in the written literature of that time it was in some cases omitted.

3 *sing.* The original form was *chantet*; the *t* dropped at the beginning of the 12th century, and the *e* became mute quite at the end of the 16th century.

1, 2, and 3 *plur.*—For these persons see §§ 222, 223, and 224.

We see that by a series of phonetic changes the 1, 2, and 3 *sing.* and the 3 *plur.* have now become identical in pronunciation; e.g. the verb in *je chante*, *tu chantes*, *il chante*, *ils chantent*, is in each case pronounced *chãt'*.

2. Imperfect:

Classical Latin.	Popular Latin.	O.F.	Mod. F.
cant-ābam	cant-āva	chant-aue, -de	chantais
cant-ābas	cant-āvas	chant-aues, -des	chantais
cant-ābat	cant-āvat	chant-auet, -det	chantait
cant-abāmus	cant-avāmus	chant-iens	chantions
cant-abātis	cant-avātis	chant-iies	chanties
cant-ābant	cant-āvāt	chant-auent, -dent	chantaient

In the 11th century the 3 sing., *chant-det*, became *chantôt*, *chantout*. In the 12th century *chant-de*, *chant-des*, *chantout*, *chantent*, became, by analogy with the imperfect of *finir* (§ 243, ii), *chantoie*, *chantoies*, *chantoit*, *chantoient*. The 1 plur. in the 11th century became *chant-iions*, and in the 12th century we already find *-iions*, *-iies*, reduced to *-ions*, *-ies*; the origin of these forms is obscure: analogy with the verbs in *-ir* without doubt influenced them.

3. Preterite:

Classical Latin.	Popular Latin.	French.
cant-āvi	cant-āi	chant-ai
cant-āvisti	cant-āsti	chant-as
cant-āvit	cant-āt	chant-at, chant-a
cant-āvimus	*cant-āmmus	chant-ames, âmes
cant-āvistis	cant-āstis	chant-astes, -âtes
cant-āverunt	cant-ārun	chant-èrent (later chantèrent)

1 sing.—In *cantāvi*, before the 7th century, the *v* was dropped and the *i* formed a diphthong with the *a*: *cantai*.

2 sing.—*Cantāsti* became first *chantast* (§§ 50 and 47); towards the 8th or 9th century the *t* dropped under the predominating influence of the *a*, already felt to be the characteristic of the second person (§ 220).

3 sing.—*Cantāvit* was pronounced *cantāvt*; the *v* was dropped before the *t* and gave *chantat*; then, in the 12th century, the *t* itself was lost and gave *chanla*.

1 and 2 plur.—*Cantāvimus* became *cantāvimus*, and then *chanlames*, and *cantastis* became *chantastes*. This second form reacted on the first and changed it into *chantasmes*, from which, with the loss of the *s* (§ 102), it gave *chantâmes*, *chantâtes*; in Modern French the *a* has become short, and the forms, though written as above, are pronounced *chantâmes*, *chantâtes*.

3 plur.—The form *chantèrent* is derived regularly from *cantarunt*. The form *chantarent*, which occurs in the 15th and 16th centuries, was due to analogy with the 1 and 2 plur.

Preterites of the 1st conjugation in *-i* are to be found in French dialects; for example: *je mangi*, &c. (§ 236).

4. For the Future and Conditional, see §§ 218, 227.

232. IMPERATIVE MOOD.—Present:

2 sing.—*cant-a* gave, according to phonetic rule, *chante*.

1 and 2 plur.—*Chantons*, *chantez*, are taken from the indicative. The Latin *cant-ete* would have given *chantét*, *chanté*, but these forms were probably not adopted because they would have been too easily confused with the past participle.

233. SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.—I. Present subjunctive:

Classical Latin.	Popular Latin.	Old French.	Mod. French.
<i>cant-em</i>	<i>cant-e</i>	<i>chant</i>	<i>chant-e</i>
<i>cant-es</i>	<i>cant-es</i>	<i>chans (=chant-s)</i>	<i>chant-es</i>
<i>cant-et</i>	<i>cant-et</i>	<i>chant (=chant-t)</i>	<i>chant-e</i>
<i>cant-ēmus</i>	<i>cant-ēmus</i>	<i>chant-iens, -ons</i>	<i>chant-ions</i>
<i>cant-ētis</i>	<i>cant-ētis</i>	<i>chant-eis, -es</i>	<i>chant-iez</i>
<i>cant-ent</i>	<i>cant-ent</i>	<i>chant-ent</i>	<i>chant-ent</i>

Sing.—The atonic *e* was regularly dropped: *chant*, *chans*, *chant*, are thus the normal primitive forms.

Similarly, *que je plor*, *que tu plor-s*, *qu'il plor-t*; *que je lo*, *que tu loz*, *qu'il lot*, are the corresponding forms from the

verbs *plorer* and *loer* (Mod. F. *pleurer*, *louer*). Only those verbs whose radical ended with a group of consonants requiring a supporting vowel have an *e* in the singular inflexions in Old French: *que j'entre*, *que tu entres*, *qu'il entret*, &c. Later, the use of this vowel (as in the present indicative, § 231) became universal owing to analogy, and led to forms on the type of *que je chante*, *que tu chantes*, *qu'il chante*, &c.

1 *plur.*—*Chant-iens* was never much used; the ordinary form was *chantons*. In the 16th century, either by a fusion of these two forms, or more probably owing to analogy with the subjunctives of verbs in *-ir*, appeared the modern form *chantions*.

2 *plur.*—*Chanteis* disappeared at an early period before *chantes* (§ 223), which was preserved until the 16th century. At this time *chantes* underwent the same treatment as *chantons* and became *chantiez*.

2. Imperfect subjunctive :

Latin.	Old and Middle French.	Mod. French.
cant-asse ^m	<i>chant-asse</i>	<i>chant-asse</i>
cant-asse ^s	<i>chant-asses</i>	<i>chant-asses</i>
cant-asse ^t	<i>chant-ast</i> , <i>chant-ât</i>	<i>chant-ât</i>
cant-asse ^m us	<i>chant-issons</i> , <i>chant-assions</i>	<i>chant-assions</i>
cant-asse ^t is	<i>chant-issiez</i> , <i>chant-assiez</i>	<i>chant-assiez</i>
cant-asse ⁿ t	<i>chant-assent</i>	<i>chant-assent</i>

Sing.—We should have expected the regular forms: *que je chantas*, *que tu chantas* (= *chantasss*), the final atonic *e* being dropped; but the final *e* has been preserved so as to leave its characteristic form to this tense.

Plur.—It was only in the 16th century that the 1 and 2 *plur.* *chantissons*, *chantissiez*, were definitively replaced by *chantassions*, *chantassiez*, under the influence of the *a* of the other persons. Robert Estienne, in his Grammar published in 1569, only recognizes the forms *chantissions*, *chantissiez*. Besides *chantissons*, we find at a fairly early date the forms

chantiss-iens, chantiss-ions; the termination *-ions* finally prevailed in the 16th century.

234. INFINITIVE MOOD.—

	Latin.	French.
Present	cant-are	<i>chant-er</i>
Partic. present	cant-antem	<i>chant-ant</i>
Gerund (abl.)	cant-ando	<i>chant-ant</i>
Partic. past, M. Sg.	cant-atus, -atum	<i>chant-es, et (O.F.), chanté</i>
	Pl. cant-ati, -atos	<i>chant-et, es (O.F.), chantés</i>
F. Sg.	cant-ata	<i>chant-ede (O.F.), chant-ée</i>
	Pl. cant-atas	<i>chantedes (O.F.), chant-ées</i>

235. COMPOUND TENSES.—As these tenses involve the consideration of the auxiliaries *être* and *avoir*, we shall discuss them later on (§ 254).

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

236. VERBS FORMERLY ENDING IN *-ier*.—In certain O. F. verbs, under the action of a preceding palatal (§ 54, I. a), the Latin *a* of the present infinitive, the past participle, the 2 plur. of the present, and the 3 plur. of the preterite indicative, had been changed, not into *é*, but into *ié*: *chan-gier* (*cambiare), *cerchier* (circare), *aidier* (adjutare), *cuidier* (cogitare), *nagier* (navigare), *traitier* (tractare), *enseignier* (insignare), &c. Thus the forms used were: *changié, vous changiez, que vous changiez; vous aidiez, que vous aidiez; changièrent, aidèrent, &c.* Between the 14th century and the 16th the action of the regular conjugation caused the loss of this diphthong *ié*, which was replaced by the usual vowel *é*: the unification of form prevailed thus everywhere in French proper.

The northern and eastern dialects, however, far from following this progress of French towards simplification, brought matters to extremes. They reduced *ié* to *i*, and this phonetic modification caused a great number of verbs of the 1st conjugation to pass apparently into the 2nd. The infinitive, past participle, the 3 sing. of the preterite, the 2 plur. of the three present tenses, all having now the vowel *i* in their inflexion, the whole of the tenses received this inflexion. Thus the verb *mangier* became *mangir* and was conjugated in the preterite: *je mangi, tu mangis, il mangi, nous mangimes, vous mangiles, ils mangirent*.

This apparent change of conjugation is to be distinguished from that which took place in the 16th century, temporarily, in the case of the ordinary verbs in *-er*. In these the old 1 and 2 plur. of the imperfect subjunctive, *que nous chantissons, que vous chantissiez* (§ 234), led to the remodelling of the other persons of the tense, giving *que je chantisse, que tu chantisses, qu'il chantist, qu'ils chantissent*, while the type was even extended to the preterite: *je chantis, tu chantis, il chantit, nous chantimes, vous chantites, ils chantirent*.

These forms did not, however, survive either in the common language or in the dialects or patois.

237. UNIFICATION OF THE CONJUGATION OF VERBS IN *-er*, WHOSE RADICAL WAS SUBJECT TO MODIFICATION IN OLD FRENCH.—The principle of unification prevailed again in the conjugation of those verbs where the vowel of the radical was, in certain tenses and persons, modified under the influence of the *tempus forte*: *il aime, nous amons, il queule, nous coulons*, became *il aime, nous aimons; il coule, nous coulons*. (See § 226.)

238. VERBS IN *-er*, OF WHICH THE FINAL CLOSE *é* IN THE INFINITIVE IS PRECEDED BY AN *é* MUTE OR ANOTHER CLOSE *é*.—We have explained above (§ 227) how the close,

é of the infinitive was changed into e mute in the future and conditional: *je chanter-ai, je chanterais*. We have to examine the case where this close é of the infinitive is preceded (1) by an e mute, as in *geler, lever, peser*, and in verbs in -eler, -eter, or (2) by a close é, as in *céder, espérer*.

1st case.—In the 1, 2, and 3 sing. and 3 plur. of the three present tenses the e mute, under the influence of the *tempus forte*, was changed into open è: *je gèle, je lève*. In verbs in -eler, -eter, the e has been marked as open in spelling, either by means of a grave accent or by doubling the consonant l or t, as in: *j'épèle* or *j'épelle*; *j'achète, je jette*. The other persons keep the e mute: *nous gelons, vous levez, nous épelons, nous achetons, vous jetez*.

Hence we have an alternation between forms in which the vowel of the radical is accented and forms in which it is atonic. This alternation is especially evident at the present day in the verbs in -eler and -eter, in which the e in those forms in which it would normally be atonic, and remain an e mute, drops altogether in pronunciation¹: we say *je renouvelle, tu renouvèles, il renouvelle, ils renouvellent*, but *nous renouv'lons, vous renouv'lez, je renouv'lais*; and similarly *je cache, &c.*, but *nous cach'lons, &c.*² We see in this instance exactly the same process reproduced in Modern French which took place in Old French with regard to *parler* (see § 226, 8). In the O.F. conjugation the forms used were *je parole, tu parles*, but *nous parlons, vous parlez, &c.* Just as custom caused the contracted forms on the type of *parlons, parlez*, to be used throughout the verb, so the popular language of the present day is causing the contracted forms with the *tempus forte* thrown back, *je cach'le, tu cach'les, je décoll'le, j'épouss'le, &c.*, to replace *je cache, tu caches, je décolle, j'époussette, &c.*

In the future and conditional (all persons) the e mute

¹ Except in declamation and verse.

² These forms are written *renouvelons, renouvelez, renouvelais, &c.*; *cachéons, &c.*

of the radical, being similarly followed by another *e* mute, and bearing the *tempus forte*, is also changed into open *è*: *je gèlerai, je jèllerai, &c.*, and the pronunciation is marked either by the use of the grave accent or by a double consonant following.

and case.—In the infinitive of these verbs a close *é* occurs as the vowel of the radical, e. g. *céder, espérer*. In the 1, 2, and 3 sing. and in the 3 plur. of the three present tenses, this close *é* (like the *e* mute in the instances mentioned before) being followed by an *e* mute is similarly changed into an open *è*: *il cède, il espère*.

In the future and conditional the case is different, because the *e* mute of the infinitive contained in the written forms has become silent in modern pronunciation; *je céderai, j'espérerai*, are in reality pronounced *je céd'rai, j'espér'rai*. The vowel of the radical being free, there is no reason for it to change.

239. VERBS IN -yer.—In the conjugation of these verbs *y* is changed into *i* before *e* mute. According to the modern spelling *payer* gives *je paie, &c.*

240. VERBS IN -er PRECEDED BY A VOWEL.—For example: *payer, ployer, prier, louer, &c.* In the future and conditional this vowel is followed by an *e* mute, which in poetry is sometimes replaced by a circumflex accent: *paierai, paîrai; prierai, prîrai, &c.*

241. VERBS IN -ger AND -cer.—The addition of an *e* after the *g*, and of a cedilla under the *c* before *a* and *o*, is a purely orthographic convention, as in *nous mangeons, je plaçais, &c.*, so that the *g* may be pronounced as a *j*, and the *c* as a surd *a*. (See §§ 34, 35.)

242. THE IRREGULAR VERBS envoyer AND aller.—*Envoyer* gives in the future and conditional the forms *j'envverrai* and *j'envverrais*, instead of *j'envois-rai, j'envois-*

rais, which were still used in the 17th century. This substitution was due to the action of the verb *voir*, which for a long time possessed double forms for the future: *je voirai* and *je verrai*. The latter alone survived, and *en-voierai* disappeared before the analogical future *enverrai*.

The conjugation of *aller* is formed from three distinct verbs :

(i) The Latin *ire*, which also means *to go*, has given the future and conditional: *j'irai*, *j'irais*. This same verb *ire* is a component part of the Latin verb *exire* (*to go out*), which became the O.F. verb *cissir*, *issir*, of which the past participle *issu* has survived ; and also of the verbs *perire* (*to go through*, and hence, *perish*), *subire* (*to go underneath*), represented in French by *périr*, *subir*, words of Learned formation.

(ii) The Latin *vadere*, also meaning *to go*, has given the 1, 2, and 3 sing. and 3 plur. of the present indicative: *je vois* (O.F.), *je vais* or *je vas*¹; *tu vas*; *il vat* (O.F.), *il va*; *ils vont*. This verb is also a component part of the verb *invadere* (Pop. Lat. **invadi-re*), *envahir*.

(iii) Lastly, a verb of obscure origin, which is represented in Italian by *andare*, in Spanish and Portuguese by *andar*, in Provençal by *anar*, in Old French by *aler*, in Modern French by *aller*, has given the three tenses of the infinitive, *aller*, *allant*, *allé*; the 1 and 2 plur. of the present indicative, *allons*, *allez*; the plural of the imperative, *allons*, *allez*, &c. ; the whole of the preterite, *allai*, &c. ; the whole of the subjunctive with its irregular forms in the present (1, 2, and 3 sing., and 3 plur.), *ailla*, *ailles*, *ailla*, *aillent*; *allions*, *alliez*; *allasse*, &c.

¹ *Vois* has become *vais*, as *François* has become *Français*. The form *je vas* is due to the analogy of *tu vas*, just as the form *je peux*, which co-exists with *je puis*, has come from *tu peux*.

II. Second Living Conjugation (Inchoative Verbs).

243. THE INCHOATIVE PARTICLE -iss-.—This conjugation (for the origin of which see pp. 342, 343) is characterized by the interpolation of the syllable *-iss-* between the radical and the termination in the present and imperfect indicative, in the plural of the imperative, in the present subjunctive, the present participle, and the gerund. In the other tenses—the preterite, imperfect subjunctive, infinitive, future and conditional, and past participle—the radical remains unchanged.

In the popular pronunciation of the Gallo-Romans *-iso-* was changed into *-ios-*: hence the French form *-is-* or *-iss-*. This *s* is a surd *s*; this is why, owing to orthographic convention (§ 34), it is doubled before a vowel: *nous finissons*, &c. On the other hand, before a consonant it has disappeared: *finis-t*, derived from *finissoit*, has become *finit*. Similarly *tu finis* (pron. *fini*), from *finissois*, stands for *finis-s*.

244. INDICATIVE MOOD.—I. Present indicative:

Latin.	French.
<i>fin-iso-o</i>	<i>fin-is</i> ¹
<i>fin-iso-is</i>	<i>fin-is</i>
<i>fin-iso-it</i>	<i>fin-ist</i> (O.F.), <i>fin-ît</i>
<i>fin-iso-imus</i>	<i>fin-iss-ons</i>
<i>fin-iso-itis</i>	<i>fin-iss-es</i>
<i>fin-iso-unt</i>	<i>fin-iss-ent</i>

1 sing.—The final atonic *o* of *finiso* was dropped according to phonetic rule (§ 47), and the syllable *-iso-*, *-ios-*, was regularly reduced to *-is-*. In pronunciation the final *s* of *finis* is silent before a consonant, and becomes a sonant *s* before a vowel in cases of *liaison*: *Je finis à peine* is pronounced *je finis-à-peine*.

¹ The Old French form was *finir* and not *finir*, a form copied from Latin. In order not to complicate our exposition we give the paradigms in the form of *finir*, even for older forms. The form of the radical does not signify here, as the present object is to study the terminations.

2 *sing.*—The *s* of the syllable *-iso-*, *-iss-*, and that of the inflexion *-ia*, *-s*, have fused into one: *finjacetis*, *finis*. The fate of this final *s* has been similar to that of the *s* of the first person.

3 *sing.*—*Finjacet* became, according to rule, *finist*; then the *s* was dropped before *t*, as in *teste*, *ille*; *giste*, *gile*; *nostre*, *notre*. To be consistent, the word should be written *finil* (§ 102).

Plur.—No remark is necessary.

2. Imperfect indicative :

Classical Latin.	Popular Latin.	O. F.	Mod. F.
<i>fin-iso-ebam</i>	<i>fin-iss-ēa</i>	<i>fin-iss-eie, -oie</i>	<i>fin-iss-ais</i>
<i>fin-iso-ebas</i>	<i>fin-iss-ēas</i>	<i>fin-iss-eies, -oies</i>	<i>fin-iss-ais</i>
<i>fin-iso-ebat</i>	<i>fin-iss-ēat</i>	<i>fin-iss-eiet, -eit, -oit</i>	<i>fin-iss-ait</i>
<i>fin-iso-ebamus</i>	<i>fin-iss-eāmus</i>	<i>fin-iss-iions, -ions</i>	<i>fin-iss-ions</i>
<i>fin-iso-ebatis</i>	<i>fin-iss-eātis</i>	<i>fin-iss-iies, -ies</i>	<i>fin-iss-ies</i>
<i>fin-iso-ebant</i>	<i>fin-iss-ēant</i>	<i>fin-iss-eient, -oient</i>	<i>fin-iss-aient</i>

We have only in this place to consider the terminations *-ebam*, *-ebas*, &c. The long accented *ē* in the 1, 2, and 3 *sing.*, and 3 *plur.*, became *ei* (§ 51, 3); the intervocal¹ *v* was dropped, though according to no fixed rule², and the final atonic *a* became an *e*. Hence the primitive terminations *-eie*, *-eies*, *-eiet*, *-eient*.

From the 11th century *-eiet* was replaced by *-eit*. At the end of the 12th, the diphthong *ei* became *oi* (§ 93), and hence the terminations *-oie*, *-oies*, *-oit*, *-oient*; from that time forward the imperfect of this conjugation became

¹ I. e. between two vowels.

² The *v* between two vowels was usually preserved: *le-v-are*, *lever*. It was, however, dropped in *vi-v-enda*, *vivende* (§ 83), in order to avoid the close repetition of the same labial consonant. It has been supposed, with some probability, that the dropping of the *v* in *finisseeva* was due to the same cause; this termination *-eus* being derived from *aveva* (Classical Latin *habebam*, imperfect of *habeo*), which, for the same reason as *vivenda*, dropped the second *v* and became *avea*, O. F. *avez*, *avez*; Mod. F. *aviez*.

identical with that of the 1st conjugation, and has the same history.

At the end of the Middle Ages *-oies* (2 sing.) became *-ois*; between the 14th and the 15th century *-oie* (1 sing.) became *-oi*, *-oy*, and then, with the addition of an *s* (§ 219), *-ois*. In the 14th century the three forms *-oie*, *-oy*, and *-ois* were used indiscriminately. At the same time the pronunciation of the diphthong *oi* was changed into *oe*, and then into *wè* (§ 93). In the second half of the 16th century a fresh change took place: *wè* was reduced to *è* in the 1, 2, and 3 sing. and 3 plur. of the imperfect and the present conditional (§ 115). The forms still written *il ainnoit*, *il finissoit*, were no longer pronounced *il aimwè*, *il finiswè*, but *il aimè*, *il finissè*. The pronunciation *wè* was, however, preserved until the middle of the 17th century in the solemn and somewhat archaic language of the Parliaments and Law Courts. But it finally disappeared before the pronunciation *è* (written *ai*), which became general. The notation *ai* instead of *oi*, introduced in the 17th century by the advocate Bérain¹, and revived and defended by Voltaire, finally triumphed in the first third of the 19th century. Hence the written forms of the imperfect now used: *j'aimais*, *tu aimais*; *je finissais*, *tu finissais*, &c.

The terminations *-iions*, *-iies*, already noticed (§ 231, 2), appeared in the 1 and 2 plur. from the earliest period of the language; their origin has not yet been entirely elucidated.

3. Preterite:

Classical Latin.	Popular Latin.	French.
<i>fin-ivi</i>	<i>fin-ji</i>	<i>fin-i</i> (O.F.), <i>fin-is</i>
<i>fin-ivisti, isti</i>	<i>fin-isti</i>	<i>fin-ist</i> , <i>fin-is</i>
<i>fin-ivit</i>	<i>fin-it</i>	<i>fin-it</i>
<i>fin-ivimus</i>	<i>fin-imus</i>	<i>fin-imes</i> (O.F.), <i>fin-imes</i>
<i>fin-ivistis, -istis</i>	<i>fin-istis</i>	<i>fin-istes</i> (O.F.), <i>fin-ites</i>
<i>fin-iverunt</i>	<i>fin-irunt</i>	<i>fin-irent</i>

¹ [His *Nouvelles Remarques sur la Langue Française* were published in 1675.]

The remarks made with regard to *cantavi*, and the perfect of the 1st conjugation (§ 231, 3), hold good here. The replacement in the Latin form of *a* by *i* constitutes the only difference between the two cases.

4. Future and conditional :

The inflexions of these tenses are formed regularly and have been discussed in § 218. With regard to the preservation of the *i* of the infinitive in *finir-ai*, *finir-ais* (from the forms *finir-abeo*, *finir-aio* ; *finir-abebam*, *finir-eva*, *finir-eie*, with the dropping of the syllable *-ab*, or *-av*, already noticed), see § 227.

245. IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Present imperative :

Popular Latin.	French.
<i>fin-iso-e</i>	<i>fin-is</i>
<i>fin-iso-imus</i>	<i>fin-iss-ons</i>
<i>fin-iso-itis</i>	<i>fin-iss-es</i>

The plural is borrowed from the present indicative.

246. SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

1. Present subjunctive :

Popular Latin.	French.
<i>fin-iso-am</i> , <i>fin-iso-a</i>	(<i>que je</i>) <i>fin-iss-e</i>
<i>fin-iso-as</i>	(<i>que tu</i>) <i>fin-iss-es</i>
<i>fin-iso-at</i>	(<i>qu'il</i>) <i>fin-iss-et</i> (O.F.), <i>-iss-e</i>
<i>fin-iso-amus</i>	(<i>que nous</i>) <i>fin-iss-ons</i> (O.F.), <i>-iss-ions</i>
<i>fin-iso-atis</i>	(<i>que vous</i>) <i>fin-iss-es</i> (O.F.), <i>-iss-iez</i>
<i>fin-iso-ant</i>	(<i>qu'ils</i>) <i>fin-iss-ent</i>

In the 1, 2, and 3 sing., and 3 plur., the final atonic *a* gave, according to rule, an *e* feminine (§ 47). For the 3 sing. the form *finisse*, without a final *t*, was already adopted in the 12th century. In the plural the terminations *-ons* and *-es* (which corresponds exactly to *-atis*) became *-ions*, *-iez*, in the 16th century.

2. Imperfect subjunctive :

Classical Latin.	Pop. Latin.	French.
<i>fin-i(v)-issem</i>	<i>fin-isse</i>	(<i>que je</i>) <i>fin-isse</i>
<i>fin-i(v)-isses</i>	<i>fin-isses</i>	(<i>que tu</i>) <i>fin-isses</i>
<i>fin-i(v)-isset</i>	<i>fin-isset</i>	(<i>qu'il</i>) <i>fin-ist</i> (O.F.), <i>fin-it</i>
<i>fin-i(v)-issemus</i>	<i>fin-issemus</i>	(<i>que nous</i>) <i>fin-issons</i> (O.F.), <i>fin-issions</i>
<i>fin-i(v)-issetis</i>	<i>fin-issetis</i>	(<i>que vous</i>) <i>fin-issiez</i>
<i>fin-i(v)-issent</i>	<i>fin-issent</i>	(<i>qu'ils</i>) <i>fin-issent</i>

The two i's of the syllable *-iviss-*, *-iiss-*, were fused into one in Popular Latin. Hence the French forms, which show the same peculiarities as the corresponding forms of the first conjugation (§ 233, 2).

247. INFINITIVE MOOD.

	Latin.	French.
Pres. inf.	<i>fin-ire</i>	<i>fin-ir</i>
Pres. part.	<i>fin-iso-entem</i>	<i>fin-iss-ant</i>
Gerund (abl.)	<i>fin-iso-endo</i>	(<i>en</i>) <i>fin-iss-ant</i>
Past part. Masc. Sg. nom.	<i>fin-īt-us</i>	<i>finis</i> (O.F.)
" acc.	<i>fin-īt-um</i>	<i>fin-it</i> (O.F.), <i>fin-i</i>
" Masc. Pl. nom.	<i>fin-īt-i</i>	<i>fin-il</i> (O.F.)
" acc.	<i>fin-īt-os</i>	<i>fin-is</i> (O.F.), <i>fin-is</i>
" Fem. Sg. acc.	<i>fin-īt-am</i>	<i>fin-ide</i> (O.F.), <i>fin-ie</i>
" Pl. acc.	<i>fin-īt-as</i>	<i>fin-ides</i> (O.F.), <i>fin-ies</i>

248. THE IRREGULAR VERBS *bénir*, *fleurir*, *haïr*, *vêtir*.

(i) *Bénir*.—This verb, from the Latin *benedicere*, equivalent to the Modern French '*bien dire*,' was in Old French *beneistre*, a form which, modified by analogy with *finir*, developed into the modern infinitive *bénir*, with the past participle *béni*. The primitive form of this past participle, *bénit*, fem. *bénite*, corresponding to the Latin *benedictus*, has been preserved to this day in certain expressions sanctioned by custom. Until towards the end of the 17th century the language made no distinction between the two

forms. However, as the older participle was especially used in the popular expression *de l'eau bénite* (*holy water*), French grammarians have reserved *béni*, *-ite*, for the literal sense [of being blessed by a priest, &c.], and *béni*, *-ie*, for the figurative sense; and this distinction has been adopted generally.

(ii) *Fleurir*, *florir*.—The former of these verbs is derived from the French noun *fleur*, the second from the Latin verb *florēre*. All the tenses of the latter have been lost, except the imperfect indicative *florissais*, &c., and the present participle *florissant*, which are only used in the figurative sense¹. Grammarians have forbidden the use of *fleurir* for these two tenses. But their rule is quite futile, since it is perfectly good French to say: *La paix fleurit, fleurissait*, &c.

(iii) *Haïr* (derived from the German *hat-an* or *hat-jan*).—This verb, like all verbs derived from Germanic types in *-jan*, must have been originally inchoative. And, in fact, we find at a very early period the forms *haissant*, *haïssez*. But in Old French the non-inchoative forms were in general preferred: present indicative, *je has* or *je hé*, *tu hes*, *il het*, *nous haons*, *vous haes*, *ils heent*; imperfect indicative, *je haoie*, &c.; present subjunctive, *que je hé*, or *que je hace*, &c.; present participle, *haant*. This verb gradually became inchoative in all its forms, except the three persons singular of the present indicative. As late as the 17th century Vaugelas noted the existence of *nous hayons*, *vous hayez*, *ils haient*, and criticised the use of these forms.

(iv) *Vêtir*.—A similar change is now taking place in Modern French with regard to the verb *vêtir* and its compounds *dévêtir*, *revêtir*, &c., which belong to the dead conjugation (§ 249): present indicatives, *je vêts*, *tu vêts*, *il vêt*; *nous revêtons*, *vous revêtes*, *ils revêtent*; present

¹ [Of *to flourish*, derived from the French in this sense.]

participles : *vêlant, revêlant*. There is at the present day a strong tendency to include this verb in the second living conjugation. Lamartine [1790-1869] used the form *je vêts*, but also *il vêlissait*. Bossuet had already with more consistency used the forms : *je vellis, nous vêlissons, &c.*

III. The Dead Conjugation.

249. THE DEAD CONJUGATION.—The dead conjugation contains a limited number of verbs which instead of increasing has always been diminishing: some of these verbs have been altogether lost, others have passed into the living conjugations. The infinitives of these verbs end in *-ir, -oir, or -re*.

Most of the verbs in *-ir* of this conjugation are on the whole regular, and are only distinguished from verbs of the 2nd living conjugation by the absence of the inchoative syllable *-iss-*: e.g. *partir, repentir, sentir, sortir, &c.* Consequently they are conjugated like *finir* in all those parts of the verb which do not take the interpolated syllable *-iss-*: *je partis, que je partisse, je partirai, &c.*

The verbs in *-oir*, which are not very numerous, are derived from verbs ending in Popular Latin in *-ġre*: *devoir, debġre; recevoir, recipġre*.

The verbs in *-re* form the majority in this conjugation, and are derived from Latin verbs in *-ġre*.

Compared with verbs of the living conjugations all these verbs are irregular, although in most cases their irregularity results precisely from a regular adherence to the Latin types from which they are derived.

In the dead conjugation we have to study the preterite and past participle; the infinitive, the future and conditional; the present participle in its relation with the present and imperfect indicative, and with the present subjunctive; and, lastly, the apparent irregularities of the three present tenses.

250. PRETERITE AND PAST PARTICIPLE.—A great number of Latin verbs, belonging chiefly to the 2nd and 3rd conjugations, exhibited a peculiar change of the radical in the perfect indicative (corresponding to the French preterite) and past participle. The *tempus forte*, instead of being placed on the inflexion, as in *fin-ivi*, *fin-itus*, was placed on a syllable of the radical itself :

Infinitive.	Perfect.	Past participle.
vertĕre	verti	versus
fundĕre	fudi	fusus
mordĕre	mordidi	morsus
tendĕre	tendi	tensus
currĕre	curri	cursus
defendĕre	defendi	defensus
pendĕre	pendi	pensus
prĕndĕre	prĕndi	prĕnsus
mittĕre	miſi	miſsus
facĕre	feci	factus
rumpĕre	rupi	ruptus
vendĕre	vendidi	venditus
legĕre	lĕgi	lĕctus
vidĕre	vĭdi	vĭsus
ridĕre	riſi	riſus
venire	vĕni	ventus
pingĕre	pinxi	piotus
ungĕre	unxi	unctus
vincĕre	vici	victus
ponĕre	posui	positus
cooperire	cooperui	cooperitus
bibĕre	bibi	bibitus
recipĕre	recepī	receptus
quaerere	[quaesi]vi	quaesitus
debĕre	debui	debitus
dicĕre	dixi	dictus

In a small number of these verbs we find the preterite

and past participle, or only one of them, preserved intact without undergoing any other than the regular phonetic changes :

Latin Perf.	French Pret.	Latin Part.	French Part.
<i>fēci</i>	<i>je fis</i>	<i>fēctus</i>	<i>fait</i>
<i>dixi</i>	<i>je dis</i>	<i>dixtus</i>	<i>dit</i>
<i>risi</i>	<i>je ris</i>	<i>risus</i>	<i>ris (ri)</i>
<i>prēndi</i> (Pop. Lat.	<i>je pris</i>	<i>prēnsus</i>	<i>pris</i>
<i>prēsi, prēsi</i>)			
<i>vīdi</i>	<i>je vis</i>		
<i>vēni</i>	<i>je vins</i>		
<i>tēnui</i>	<i>je tins</i>		
<i>dēbui</i>	<i>je dus</i>		
<i>misi</i>	<i>je mis</i>		
		<i>mōrtuus, mōrtus</i>	<i>mort</i>
		<i>nātus</i>	<i>né</i>
		<i>trāctus</i>	<i>trait</i>
		<i>unctus, &c.</i>	<i>oint, &c.</i>
		<i>offertus</i>	<i>offert</i>
		<i>coopertus</i>	<i>couvert</i>

The above are what are called strong preterites and strong past participles in French. They are so called because in these the *tempus forte* is borne by the radical as it was in Latin, while in verbal forms like *je fin-is*, *fin-i*, the *tempus forte* is borne by the termination; and these latter are called weak preterites and weak past participles¹.

¹ In Old French the only strong forms in the preterite were the 1 and 3 sing. and 3 plur. In the 1 and 3 plur. the *tempus forte*, corresponding to that of the Popular Latin forms (e.g. *fecisti, fecimus, fecistis*), was borne by the termination. The preterite of *faire* was conjugated thus :

Strong forms : *je fis, il fit, ils firent*.

Weak forms : *tu fis, nous fîmes, vous fîtes*.

Little by little the language reduced these forms to a single type; the weak forms were remodelled on the strong; *tu fis, nous fîmes, vous fîtes*, being formed from *je fis, il fit, ils firent*.

At an early period the language endeavoured to simplify these multiple forms.

Preterites of the Dead Conjugation.—(i) For the perfects on the one hand, there already existed in Latin a termination *-ui*, used in a great number of verbs, mostly of the 2nd conjugation (*deb-ui*, *plac-ui*, &c.), and this termination was extended in Popular Latin to many other verbs. This final *-ui* combined with the preceding vowel of the radical, so that *debui* became *dui*, *placui* became *ploi*, &c. Hence a series of strong preterites which originally ended in French in *-ui* or *-oi*, later on in *-us*:

Infinitive.	Pres. Indic.	Preterite.
<i>avoir</i>	<i>j'ai</i>	<i>j'eus</i>
<i>devoir</i>	<i>je dois</i>	<i>je dus</i>
<i>plaire</i>	<i>„ plais</i>	<i>„ plus</i>
<i>laire</i>	<i>„ lais</i>	<i>„ lus</i>
<i>savoir</i>	<i>„ sais</i>	<i>„ sus</i>
<i>pouvoir</i>	<i>„ puis</i>	<i>„ pus</i>
<i>lire</i>	<i>„ lis</i>	<i>„ lus</i>
<i>boire</i>	<i>„ bois</i>	<i>„ bus</i>
<i>paraître</i>	<i>„ paraïs</i>	<i>„ parus</i>

The preterite derived from *debui* was conjugated thus: *je dui, tu deûs, il dut, nous deûmes, vous deûstes, ils durent*. Analogy with the other persons possessing *-u* as a characteristic ending caused *dui* to be changed into *du*, later on *dus*, the *s* being added for the 1st person according to the general rule (§ 219). The preterite derived from *placui* was conjugated: *je ploi, tu ploûs, il plot, nous ploûmes, vous ploûstes, ils plorent*. This preterite, like those of *avoir*, *savoir*, *pouvoir*, *laire*, was gradually assimilated to the preterites in *-us*, giving *je plus, j'eus*, &c.

By analogy, the preterite of certain other verbs was formed by the addition of this termination *-us* to the radical of the present participle; hence the weak preterites in *-us*:

Infinitive.	Pres. Part.	Preterite.
<i>courir</i>	<i>cour-ant</i>	<i>je cour-us</i>
<i>valoir</i>	<i>val-ant</i>	„ <i>val-us</i>
<i>vouloir</i>	<i>voul-ant</i>	„ <i>voul-us</i>

(ii) On the other hand, French adopted another termination, not less frequent in Latin, *-ivi*, *-ii*, which was used in the case of weak perfects, e. g. *fin-ivi*. It was added similarly to the radical of the present participle. Hence the many weak French preterites of which the 1 sing. formerly ended in *-i* and now ends in *-is* (§ 219) :

Infinitive.	Pres. Part.	Preterite.
<i>peindre</i>	<i>peign-ant</i>	<i>je peign-is</i>
<i>craindre</i>	<i>craign-ant</i>	„ <i>craign-is</i>
<i>rompre</i>	<i>romp-ant</i>	„ <i>romp-is</i>
<i>pendre</i>	<i>pend-ant</i>	„ <i>pend-is</i>
<i>rendre</i>	<i>rend-ant</i>	„ <i>rend-is</i>
<i>mordre</i>	<i>mord-ant</i>	„ <i>mord-is</i>
<i>vaincre</i>	<i>vainqu-ant</i>	„ <i>vainqu-is</i>

Participles.—The past participles were remodelled in precisely the same way. A certain number of the original participles have, however, been preserved in modern French in the form of participial substantives, some masculine, but most of them feminine :

Masculine.		Feminine.	
<i>morsum</i>	<i>mors</i>	<i>cursa</i>	<i>course</i>
<i>cursum</i>	<i>cours</i>	<i>rupta</i>	<i>route</i>
<i>pe(n)sum</i>	<i>(peis), poids</i>	<i>missa</i>	<i>messe</i>
<i>missus</i>	<i>mets</i>	<i>quæsitæ</i>	<i>quelle</i>
<i>acquæsitus</i>	<i>acquêt</i>	<i>electa</i>	<i>élite</i>
		<i>posita</i>	<i>poste</i>
		<i>recepta</i>	<i>recette</i>
		<i>debita</i>	<i>dette</i>
		<i>rendita, vendita</i>	<i>rente, vente</i>
		<i>te(n)sa</i>	<i>loise</i>
		<i>perdita</i>	<i>perte</i>

Some participles have even passed through a second strong form, taken from the infinitive: *tensus*, -a, from *tendo*, was supplanted by *tendit-us*, -a, whence the feminine substantive *lente*; *positus*, *pōstus*, -a, from *pōno*, had as a doublet *pōnitus*, *pōnīta*, whence the French *ponle*.

But apart from the survival in these substantive forms, in which they became, as it were, crystallized, the original participles have been lost. They have been replaced by newer forms created on the type of *imb-ūtus*. This new inflexion, -ūtus, reduced in French to -u, was added to the radical of the infinitive:

Latin infinitive.	French past participle.
val-ēre	val-u
pend-ēre	pend-u
curr-ēre	cour-u
*vol-ēre	voul-u

In many cases, the final consonant of the radical having dropped, the atonic vowel is elided before the u of the participle, so that we have monosyllabic participles, which resemble in form the strong participles:

Latin infinitive.	O.F. past part.	Mod.F. past part.
leg-ēre	lēti	lu
bib-ēre	beti	bu
tao-ēre	teſti	tu
plao-ēre	pleſti	plu
cogno-scēre	coneſti	con(n)u
par-escere	pareſti	paru

By this process most of the verbs of the dead conjugation came to have forms in -is or -us for the preterite (the former being most in use), and the form in -u for the past participle¹.

¹ In some cases the termination in -u has invaded the territory of the participles in -i, the Latin -itum. We say *oſti*, instead of the O.F. *oſti*; and in popular Modern French *boniti* (or *bonlu*), *amti*, are used for *boniti*, *amti*.

Thus was formed the conjugation of *rendre*, which grammarians have made the type of the 4th French conjugation, simply because most of the strong verbs, as a matter of fact, conform to it.

251. INFINITIVE, FUTURE, AND CONDITIONAL.—We have seen how, in the formation of the future and conditional, certain verbs of the dead conjugation in *-ir* and *-oir* drop the vowels *i*, *oi*, as pretonic counterfinals (§ 48). Thus :

<i>mourir</i>	gives in the future	<i>mourrai</i> ,	from	<i>mor(i)raio</i>
<i>acquérir</i>	"	<i>acquerrai</i> ,	"	<i>acquaer(e)raio</i>
<i>mouvoir</i>	"	<i>mouvrai</i>	"	<i>mov(ē)raio</i>
<i>devoir</i>	"	<i>devrai</i>	"	<i>deb(ē)raio</i>
<i>recevoir</i>	"	<i>recevrai</i>	"	<i>recip(e)raio</i>
<i>avoir</i>	"	<i>aurai</i>	"	<i>hab(ē)raio</i>
<i>savoir</i>	"	<i>saurai</i>	"	<i>sap(e)raio</i>
<i>tenir</i>	"	<i>ten(d')rai</i> ,	"	<i>ten(ē)raio</i>
		<i>tiendrai</i>		
<i>venir</i>	"	<i>ven(d')rai</i> ,	"	<i>ven(f)raio</i>
		<i>viendrai</i>		
<i>valoir</i>	"	<i>vau(d')rai</i>	"	<i>val(ē)raio</i>
<i>vouloir</i>	"	<i>vou(d')rai</i>	"	<i>vol(e)raio</i>
<i>falloir</i>	"	<i>fau(d')rai</i>	"	<i>fall(e)raio</i>
<i>ch(e)oir</i>	"	<i>cherrai</i>	"	<i>cad(e)raio</i>
(O. F. <i>chedeir</i>)		(O. F. <i>chedrai</i>)		
<i>voir</i>	"	<i>verrai</i>	"	<i>vid(e)raio</i>
(O. F. <i>vedeir</i>)		(O. F. <i>vedrai</i>)		

Pouvoir only gives in the future *je pourvoirai*, a modern form; in Old French the form *pourverrai* was regularly used.

Amongst the verbs in *-ir* we must notice those in which the termination is preceded by an *l mouillée*; this was treated in Old French as a simple *l*:

<i>saillir</i>	gave a future	<i>sail-rai</i> , <i>sail-d-rai</i> , <i>saudrai</i> .
<i>cueillir</i>	"	<i>cueilrai</i> , <i>cueil-d-rai</i> , <i>cueudrai</i> .
<i>bouillir</i>	"	<i>bouilrai</i> , <i>bouil-d-rai</i> , <i>boudrai</i> .

These forms were lost in the period of Middle French, when the forms *sailleraï*, *cueilleraï*, were used ; these latter are still in use at the present day, although in popular French the forms *saillirai*, *cueillirai*, *bouillirai*, formed on the infinitive, are tending to be accepted.

The other verbs of the dead conjugation in *-ir* (e. g. *partir*) form their future and conditional on the type of *finir*. The *i* should have dropped according to rule, as in the preceding verbs ; but it has been saved by the fact that the group of consonants resulting from the elision would form a combination of sounds too difficult for pronunciation (e. g. *partrai*)¹.

252. PRESENT PARTICIPLE.—According to grammarians, the present and imperfect indicative, and the subjunctive tenses, are formed from the present participle : it would be more correct to say that these different tenses are formed from the same radical. Nevertheless, to simplify the matter, we may consider one of them as typical, and take as our type the present participle, for example.

The relations of the present participle with the imperfect indicative and the subjunctive are too obvious to need discussion. Thus we have :

Pres. participle.	Imp. indicative.	Pres. subjunctive.
<i>paraiss-ant</i>	<i>je paraiss-ais</i>	<i>que je paraiss-e</i>
<i>dis-ant</i>	<i>je dis-ais</i>	<i>que je dis-e</i>

We may, however, dwell with advantage on the relations between this participle and the singular persons of the present indicative. The 2 sing. of this latter tense has ended with an *-s*, and the 3 sing. with a *-t*, from the O.F. period, while since modern times the 1 sing. has ended with an *-a*. If the radical of the present participle itself ends with a consonant, the two consonants will meet.

¹ *Ouir*, from *audire*, now gives in the future *ouirai* (a form very rarely used). The O.F. form was *ourai*, earlier *edrai*, from *audirai*, *audraie*.

We shall now consider how these consonant-groups are resolved.

(i) The radical of the present participle ends in *-s*, or *-ss*: *dis-ant, conduis-ant, fais-ant, plais-ant*; *connaiss-ant, paraiss-ant*, &c. In the 1 and 2 sing. the *-ss* or *-sss* of the radical and termination are reduced to a single *s*: *je lis, je connais*; *tu lis, tu dis, tu connais*. In the 3 sing. the *s* before the *t* of the termination is dropped according to the rules of Modern French phonetics and spelling; in cases when it is preceded by a vowel, a circumflex accent is placed over the *i*: *il dit, il lit*; *il plait, il paraît*.

(ii) The termination *-ant* of the present participle is preceded by a vowel: *ri-ant, conclu-ant, fri-ant, fuy-ant, croy-ant*. The original forms in Old French for the present tense were, according to rule, *je ri, je croi, je conclu*, &c. (which became later on *je ris, je crois*, &c., § 219); *tu ris, tu crois*; *il rit, il croit*.

(iii) The termination *-ant* is preceded by *m* or *v*: *dorm-ant, buv-ant, écriv-ant, suiv-ant*, &c. These consonants are dropped, not only before the *-s* and *-t* of the 2 and 3 sing., according to phonetic rule (§ 100), but also in the 1 sing., where they were final. Thus we have not only *tu dors, tu vis*; *il dort, il vit*, &c., but *je dor, je vi, je doi, je sui*; which became later on *je dors, je vis, je dois, je suis* (§ 219), &c.

(iv) The termination *-ant* is preceded by either one or two dentals: *rend-ant, perd-ant, ment-ant, mett-ant, batt-ant, sent-ant*. In French pronunciation, on the one hand, we cannot have two consecutive final dentals; on the other hand, in Modern French spelling an effort is made to leave the verbal radical intact, whilst in Old French the spelling tended to follow the pronunciation. These two tendencies have resulted in uncertainty and incoherency in modern usage. We have: *je rends, tu rends, il rend*, and not *il rent*; but *je sens, tu sens, il sent*, and not *je sentis, tu sentis*;

— *je pars*, *tu pars*, *il part*, side by side with *je mets*, *tu mets*, *il met*, *je bats*, *tu bats*, *il bat*, &c. It is to be wished that the French Academy would adopt a uniform spelling in these cases.

(v) The termination *-ant* is preceded by an *n mouillée*: *craign-ant*, *joign-ant*. In Modern French the *n mouillée* can no longer be pronounced as a final; it has been replaced by a simple *n*. Hence we have *je crains*, *tu crains*, *il craint*, together with the forms *craignant*, *nous craignons*, &c.

(vi) The termination *-ant* is preceded by an *l mouillée*. This consonant has been transformed into the vowel *u*, and the *s* of the inflexion is written usually with an *x*; thus we have *val-ant*: *je vau*, *tu vau*, *il vaut*; *défaill-ant*: *je défaux* (or *je déjaux*). In *bouill-ant*, *je bous*, the preservation of the *s* after *ou* in spelling is to be noticed.

Thus most of the apparent irregularities of the singular of the present indicative in the dead conjugation are explained by the general laws of French phonetics.

253. THE THREE PRESENT TENSES IN THE DEAD CONJUGATION.—We need only recall, by means of a table, the laws enounced in § 226 with regard to the incidence of the *tempus forte* on the vowel of the radical in the 1, 2, and 3 sing., and the consequent difference between the resulting French vowel in these persons and in the 1 and 2 plur. (when the vowel is free) of the three present tenses (indicative, imperative, and subjunctive):

Infinitive.	Pres. Indic. 3 sing.	Pres. Indic. 1 plur.
a (ap)paroir	il (ap)pert	nous parons (O.F.)
b quérir	je quiers	nous querons
tenir	je tiens	nous tenons
venir	je viens	nous venons
c devoir	je dois	nous devons
d mourir	je meurs	nous mourons
e pouvoir	je peux	nous pouvons

The four series of phonetic facts summarized above account for almost all the irregularities of the so-called *irregular verbs*.

254. PECULIARITIES OF CERTAIN VERBS.—To complete this study we have only to point out certain isolated facts, and firstly those in connexion with the two auxiliaries *être* and *avoir*.

(i) **ÊTRE.**—This verb shows interesting peculiarities in each of its moods and tenses.

1. Present indicative :

Classical Latin.	Old French.	Mod. French.
<i>sum</i>	<i>sui, suis</i>	<i>suis</i>
<i>es</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>es</i>
<i>est</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>est</i>
<i>sumus</i>	<i>somus, somes</i>	<i>sommes</i>
<i>estis</i>	<i>estes</i>	<i>êtes</i>
<i>sunt</i>	<i>sont</i>	<i>sont</i>

With regard to the *s* of the 1 sing., see § 219 (i). In the 2 sing. the Latin *es* should have given phonetically *ies* (§ 51, 2). *Es* is doubtless due to the action of *est*, or else to its frequent use as an atonic form. Similarly *estis* ought to have given *es*; the form *estes* is without doubt due to the action of *somes*, just as *dites*, *faîtes*¹, are due to the action of *dimes*, *faimés* (see § 254, vii). With regard to *soms* and *somes* see § 222.

2. Imperfect indicative :

From the Latin *eram*, *eras*, *erat*, *eramus*, *eratis*, *erant*, were derived the O.F. forms *iere* (*ere*²), *ieres* (*eres*²), *ieret* (*eret*²), *erions*, *eries*, *ierent* (*erent*²). This imperfect from the time of the Middle Ages gradually gave way to other forms based on the infinitive *estre*. From *estre* were derived

¹ In certain dialects of Eastern France we find analogous forms: *preintes* from *prænditis*, *renies* from *rēdditis*, *seules* from *sēquitis*.

² The atonic forms, less used.

esteie, estoie; esteies, estoies, &c., on the model of the O. F. *prometeie, &c.*, from *prometre*; *teindeie, &c.*, from *tendre*. Hence the Modern French imperfect *étais, étais, était, étions, étiez, étaient*.

3. Preterite:

Popular Latin.	Old French.	Mod. French.
<i>fui</i>	<i>fui, fu</i>	<i>fus</i>
<i>fuiſti</i>	<i>fus</i>	<i>fus</i>
<i>fuit</i>	<i>fut</i>	<i>fut</i>
<i>fuiſimus</i>	<i>fumes, fusmes</i>	<i>fumes</i>
<i>fuiſtis</i>	<i>fustes</i>	<i>fûtes</i>
<i>fuerunt</i>	<i>furent</i>	<i>furent</i>

This preterite is the only strong preterite of Old French which was strong in all the persons: *tu fus, nous fumes, vous fustes* (cf. p. 361, note). The 1 sing. passed through the pronunciation *fui* and *fui*; it then became *fu* under the action of the 2 and 3 sing. *fus* and *fut*. In the 16th century it was still written *fu*. It became *fus* later according to the general rule (§ 219).

4. Future and conditional:

From the Latin *ero, eris, erit, erimus, eritis, erunt*, was derived the O. F. future, *ier, iers, iert, ermes, erles, ierent*. Side by side with this classical future, *ero, &c.*, there was in Popular Latin a future formed from the infinitive *essere* and the verb (*h*)*abeo*: *esserabeo, &c.*, from which came the O. F. *estrai*. The form of the future now used, *serai, seras*, has been in use since the 12th century; it is still unexplained.

5. Present subjunctive:

The forms *que je sois, &c.*, have been taken, not from the Classical Latin *sím, sis, sit, &c., &c.*, but from the Popular Latin *siam, sias, siat, siamus, siatis, siant*. Hence we have in Old French *seis and soie, seies and soies, seit; seiens,*

seien, seient and *soient*, and in Modern French *sois, sois, soit*; *soyons, soyen, soient*.

6. Imperfect subjunctive :

The forms *que je fusse*, &c., were derived from the Latin pluperfect *fuissem*, &c.

7. Infinitive :

Être is taken from the Popular Latin *essere*, whence *estre, être*.

8. Gerund and participles :

These forms are derived from another verb, the verb *stare*, which in Popular Latin had assumed the meaning of 'to find oneself.' Hence the gerund *estant*, later *étant*, from *stādo*; the present participle *estant*, later *étant*, from *stātem*; and the past participle, *esté*, later *été*, from *stātum*. The verb *être* is conjugated with the auxiliary *avoir* in the past tenses. This is an anomaly. In Italian the auxiliary used is the verb *essere*. The equivalent of the Italian *io sono stato* would normally be in French, not *j'ai été*, but *je suis été*. This more regular conjugation is sometimes found in Old French, and still survives in the popular language.

(ii) **AVOIR.** — The 1 sing. of the present indicative comes from the Popular Latin (h)abio, aio, which gave according to the rules of phonetics *ai* (§ 54, I. b). In accordance with its etymology the form *ai* has no final *s*; but in Popular French an *s* is often added, owing to the influence of the forms *je viens, je cours*, &c. With regard to *ont*, see § 224, footnote. The Latin perfect *habui*, &c., through the forms **awi, *aui*, &c., was transformed into *oi, oûs, ot, oûmes, oûstes, orent*, and thence into the modern (j')*eus, tu eus, il eut*, &c. (cf. p. 331, note). It was only from the 16th century that the old form of the future, *aurai*, became *aurai*, in consequence of the transformation of the *v* into the vowel *u*. In the same way *saurai* became *saurai*.

(iii) **COUDRE**.—*Je couds, tu couds, il coud*. This verb comes from the Classical Latin *consuere*, Popular Latin *oq̄svere*, *oq̄sre*, which, according to phonetic rules, became *cosre*, *cosdre*, *cousdre*, *coudre*. The euphonic *d* of the infinitive was introduced in spelling into the singular of the present indicative without any good reason.

(iv) **MOUDRE**.—*Je mouds, tu mouds, il moud*. From the Latin *mōlāre*, *mōlre*, *mōldre*, *moudre*. This verb shows the same peculiarity in spelling as *coudre*.

(v) **SOUDRE** (obsolete, from *solvere*) and its compounds: *absoudre*, *résoudre*, &c. The irregularity of these verbs lies in the existence of two forms of the past participle, the one in *-olu*, feminine *-olue*, from the Classical Latin *solutus*: *absolu*, *absolue*, *résolu*, *résolue*; the other in *-ous*, feminine *-oute*, from the Popular Latin *soltus*: *absous*, *absoute*. We have in reality, in the latter case, the masculine of an old participle in *a*, *assous*, *assousse*, together with the feminine of an old participle in *t*, *assout*, *assoute*. The *b* in these forms is due to the learned formation and is of later origin. (Cf. p. 277.)

(vi) **OFFRIR, SOUFFRIR, COUVRIR; CUEILLIR, SAILLIR**¹.—The present indicative of *offrir*, *souffrir*, and *couvrir* took a final *e* as a supporting vowel from the earliest times. The influence of analogy led to the use of the forms *je cueille*, *je saille*, instead of the O.F. *je cueil*, *je sail*, in which the radical of the verb was too much masked to resist this influence.

(vii) **DIRE (LIRE)**.—The 2 plur. *dites* no more represents the Latin form *dicitis* than *faites* represents *facitis*, for these Latin forms would have given in French *dis* and *fais*. The forms *dites* and *faites* are doubtless due to the action of the old forms of the 1 plur., *dimes* and *faimes*.

¹ Derived from the Pop. Lat. forms *offerire*; *sufferire*; **cooperire*; **colligire*, **colyire* (corresponding to the Classical forms *offerre*, *sufferre*, *cooperire*, *colligere*); and *salire*.

These were lost and replaced by the analogical forms *disons*, *faisons*; but *dites* and *faites* have survived¹. In the present subjunctive of *dire* we find in Old French the forms *que je die*, *que tu dies*, *qu'ils dient*, &c., and in the present indicative *ils dient*, which were all derived according to rule from Latin. They are now replaced by forms due to analogy with other verbs, and taken either from the present participle or from the 1 and 2 plur. of the present indicative: *que je dise*, *que tu dises*, *qu'ils disent*, on the type of *disant*, *disons*, &c.

The subjunctive of *lire* was similarly remodelled from *lisant*.

(viii) **FAIRE (PLAIRE, TAIRE)**.—Derived from the Latin *facere*, and the Popular Latin *placere*, *tacere*. With regard to *faites* see (vii) supra. On the form *font* see § 224, footnote. The old subjunctive was written: *que je face*, *que tu faces*, *qu'il face*, *que nous facions*, *que vous faciez*, *qu'ils facent*. Similarly *plaire*, *taire*, gave the forms *que je place*, *que je tace*, &c. But whilst *que je face* has been preserved, the *o* being merely replaced in spelling by *ss*, the subjunctives of *plaire* and *taire* have been remodelled on the forms *plaçons*, *je plaisais*, *plaisant*; *taisons*, *je taisais*, *taisant*, and have become *que je plaise*, *que je laise*, &c.

We must notice in the future and conditional the forms *ferai* and *ferais*, with the weakening of *ai* into the *e* feminine. The *e* feminine occurs in reality also in the forms *faisant* and *faisons*, and Voltaire wrote in accordance with this pronunciation: *fesant*, *fesons*.

(ix) **VAINCRE (O.F. veindre)**.—This verb possessed a series of forms regularly derived from the Latin *vincere*, but owing to analogy it has undergone change, and the consonant *c*, or *qu*, has displaced *t* throughout, even in

¹ *Redire* gives in the same way *redites*, and *refaire* the form *refaites*. The other compounds of *dire*, e.g. *médire*, &c., give *médises*, &c.

the 3 sing. of the present indicative, in which the O.F. *veint*, Mid. F. *vaint*, is now represented by *vainc*. Thus we have for the present indicative :

Old French.		Mod. French.
<i>je venc</i> , <i>vainc</i>	<i>nous venquons</i> , <i>vainquons</i>	<i>je vainc</i> , <i>nous vainquons</i>
<i>tu veins</i> , <i>vains</i>	<i>vous venques</i> , <i>vainques</i>	<i>tu vains</i> , <i>vous vainques</i>
<i>il veint</i> , <i>vaint</i>	<i>ils vainquent</i>	<i>il vainc</i> , <i>ils vainquent</i>

(x) **BRUIRE**¹.—In modern usage the *prés. part.* *bruyant* has been replaced by *bruisant*, and *ils bruyent* by *ils bruissent*; hence the substantive *bruissement*, &c.

(xi) **GÉSIR**.—The surviving forms are regularly derived from Latin forms: *jacere*, *gésir*; *jacētem*, *gisant*; *jacet*, *il gît*.

(xii) **TENIR**, **VENIR**.—Derived from the Latin *tenere*, *venire*. To distinguish the old regular futures and conditionals, *tendrai*, *vendrai*, from the futures and conditionals of *tendre* and *vendre*, these have been changed in Modern French into *tiendrai*, *viendrai*, &c., modelled on *je tiens*, *je viens*, &c.

(xiii) **SEoir**.—From the Latin *sedere*. Cf. *videre*, *voir*. Present indicative: *il sied*, from *sedet*; present participle: *seyant*, and also *séant*, from *sedentem*. The various forms in *oi*, *ei*, *é*, *ié*, in the original conjugation of the verb were regularly derived from the different parts of the Latin verb. But in French each of them has been taken as a type of the radical, and hence the extraordinary inconsistencies of the modern conjugation :

Pres. indic. *j'assois* and *j'assieds*
tu assois *tu assieds*
il assoit, &c. *il assied*, &c.

Pres. part. *assoyant* and *asseyant*, &c.

¹ Of uncertain derivation.

(xiv) **CHOIR.**—Derived from Pop. Lat. *oădșre* (Class. Lat. *oădôre*).—The new forms *il chois*, *il échoit*, &c., have been derived from the infinitive, the corresponding forms being formerly *il chet*, *il échet*. The present participle *chant* has been preserved in *échant*, *échance*, and in *mes-cheant*, *méchant*, from which came the old word *mes-chéance*, *méchance*, which has produced the modern *méchancelé*.

(xv) **POUVOIR.**—Derived from the Pop. Lat. **potere* (Class. Lat. *posse*). The future *pourrai* has been derived from the Popular Latin *potere-abeo*, through the forms *podrai*, *porrai*; compare the old forms of the infinitive *podeir*, *poeir*, *pooir*, and the modern *pouvoir*.

CHAPTER IV

INDECLINABLE WORDS

255. The two kinds of indeclinable words.

I. WORDS OF RELATION.—256. Words of relation (adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions).—257. The form of French adverbs.—258. Adverbs derived from Latin adverbs.—259. Adverbs formed from adjectives.—260. Adverbs formed by composition.—261. Signification of adverbs.—262. The origins of French prepositions.—263. Prepositions derived from Latin prepositions.—264. Prepositions of French formation.—265. Signification of prepositions.—266. Conjunctions properly so called.—267. Conjunctive phrases.—268. Signification of conjunctions.

II. INTERJECTIONS.—269. The Interjection.

255. THE TWO KINDS OF INDECLINABLE WORDS.—Indeclinable words are divided into two classes :

(i) Words of relation, including *adverbs*, *prepositions*, and *conjunctions*.

(ii) Interjections.

I. Words of Relation.

256. WORDS OF RELATION (ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, AND CONJUNCTIONS).—The constituent terms of a statement may be connected in language by means of words which express general or abstract relations, and which are independent of other words, and consequently do not need to be inflected : these may be classed as adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions.

Words of this kind are related to one another in their origin and nature. Most French conjunctions are adverbs used absolutely ; and the French prepositions are derived from Latin prepositions, which originally were all adverbs.

257. THE FORM OF FRENCH ADVERBS.—French adverbs have been either derived from corresponding Latin adverbs or from Latin or French adjectives, or else have been formed by methods of word composition.

258. ADVERBS DERIVED FROM LATIN ADVERBS.—A certain number of French adverbs come from corresponding Latin adverbs :

Class. Latin.	Pop. Latin.	O. F.	Mod. F.
<i>alioŕsum</i>	<i>alioŕsu</i>	<i>aillors</i>	<i>ailleurs</i>
<i>sursum</i>	<i>susu</i>	<i>sus</i>	<i>sus</i>
<i>deorsum</i>	<i>deusu</i>	<i>jus</i>	—
<i>hodie</i>	<i>hodye</i>	<i>hui</i>	<i>hui</i> (in <i>aujourd'hui</i>)
<i>ibi</i>	<i>ivi</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>inde</i>	<i>ende</i>	<i>ent</i>	<i>en</i>
<i>illac</i>	<i>lao</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>là</i>
<i>jam</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ja</i> (in <i>déjà</i>)
<i>magis</i>	<i>mages</i>	<i>mais</i>	<i>mais</i>
<i>minus</i>	<i>menos</i>	<i>meins</i>	<i>moins</i>
<i>plus</i>	<i>plus</i>	<i>plus</i>	<i>plus</i>

Class. Latia.	Pop. Latia.	O. F.	Mod. F.
non	non	non	non, ne
sic	sic	si	si
tantum	tantu	tant	tant
ubi	obe, ove	o	où

259. ADVERBS FORMED FROM ADJECTIVES.—To this first series we must add a series of adjectives used absolutely, either in the singular or plural.

1. *Adverbs formed from singular adjectives*: *courir vite, voir clair, chanter faux, parler haut, sentir bon, couper court, aller droit, &c.*¹. In these we find the Latin tradition continued in French, since neuter adjectives were similarly used as adverbs in Latin.

2. *Adverbs formed from plural adjectives*. We find in Popular Latin, and later in French, adverbs which have been formed from the accusative plural, either masculine or feminine, of adjectives:

voluntarios	volontiers
certas	certes
primas	primes (O.F.) ²
longas	longes (O.F.) ² , &c.

These adverbs are, as we see, characterized by the presence of a final *s*. This *s* was also the final of a certain number of Latin adverbs in constant use, such as *foris* (*outside*), *magis*, *plus*, &c., and of Latin neuter comparatives, used also as adverbs: *melius*, *pejus*, &c. It came consequently to be considered as the characteristic of adverbs, and its use was extended at a very early period to a number of other adverbs which, on etymological grounds, had no right to it: *jadis*, *tandis* (Lat. *jamdiu*, *tamdiu*), *guères* (Gothic *waigari*), *donques* (from *donec*), *avecques* (from *avuec*, *avec*, + *que*), &c.

¹ [Adverbs are formed similarly in English: to run *fast*, speak *loud*, smell *good*, cut *short*, go *straight*, &c. *Chanter faux* = to sing out of tune.]

² = in Mod. F. *en premier lieu*.

² = in Mod. F. *longtemps*.

260. ADVERBS FORMED BY COMPOSITION.—A large number of new adverbs have also been formed in French by composition.

Four distinct methods of formation have been used: (i) the combination of a preposition with a noun governed by it; (ii) the combination of two or more prepositions or adverbs; (iii) the combination of an adjective with a substantive (the resulting compound being used absolutely); (iv) the transformation of a phrase (generally an elliptical phrase) into an adverb.

(i) **Combination of a preposition with a noun (substantive or adjective) governed by it.**—In Latin we already find this kind of composition: *ex-tempore*, that is, 'from the time'; *illuc* (from *illo loco*), 'in that place,' i. e. 'on the spot.' French has created new compounds on this type, the constituent elements of some of which have merged in a single word so that they look like simple adverbs: *alentour*, *debout*; while in other cases the two elements have been left separate: *à cette heure*, *à la fois*, *à présent*, *à tort*, *à raison*.

We must draw special attention to:

(a) Adverbs of this kind in which the noun is an adjective, whether taken substantively or not: *à droite*, *à gauche*, *à la ronde*, *à la dérobée* (= *secretly*), *à la prussienne*.

(b) Locutions formed by the combination of a preposition with a verbal compound word: *à tue-tête*, *à saute-mouton*, *d'arrache-pied*¹, &c.

(c) Compounds formed by the union of the preposition *à* with substantives in -ons derived from verbal radicals: *à tâtons*, *à reculons* (and O. F. *à genouillons*, Mod. F. *en s'agenouillant*, *kneeling*; *à croppelons*, Mod. F. *en s'accroupissant*, *crouching*).

(d) Compounds formed of two nouns joined by the preposition *à*. In these compounds sometimes the pre-

¹ *Crier à tue-tête* = to shout so as to split any one's ears; *jouer à saute-mouton* = to play leap-frog; *travailler d'arrache-pied* = to work unceasingly.

position *à* is equivalent to *à côté de* (i. e. *alongside*): *corps à corps, tête à tête, bras à bras, nez à nez*. Sometimes it implies *direction*, and in this case the first noun was originally preceded by the preposition *de*: *de pas à pas, de peu à peu, de mot à mot* (i. e. *going from one step to the next step, from one word to the next word*), &c.; which by ellipsis led to: *peu à peu, pas à pas, mot à mot, quatre à quatre, brin à brin, goutte à goutte*.

(e) In this category must be placed the two adverbs *avec* and *or*. (1) *Avec* is formed of *av* and of *ec*, *av* representing the Latin *ap(ud)*, and *ec* (formerly *uec*) representing the Latin *hoo*. *Avec* signifies literally 'with that,' and is therefore an adverb. It became a preposition also, at an early period, but has preserved its primitive function as an adverb down to the present day¹.

(2) *Or, ore, or ors, ores*.—This adverb is derived from the Latin compound *ad-horam* = *at the hour*. In Popular Latin this gave *ad ora, aora*; and the resulting diphthong *ao* became an open *ò*: *ore*. The plural *adoras* gave *ores*. In both the singular *ore* and the plural *ores* the *e* was sometimes dropped, the forms *or, ors*, being also used. Modern French has kept the form *or* and dropped *ors*, except in the form *lors*, which seems to be formed from the article *le* + *ors*. *Lors* has been lengthened by the addition of an *a*: *alors* (= *à lors*; we find in Old French *ilors*).

(ii) Combination of two or more prepositions or adverbs.—In Classical Latin there already existed the adverb *sub-inde*, which has become the French *souvent*, and in Popular Latin *ab-ante*, which has become the French *avant*. Similarly, *dont* comes from *de unde*; *jusque* from *de usque*; *ensemble* from *in simul*. We may quote also later compounds, of which the process of formation is more apparent:

¹ The adverbial use is shown in

Il avait dans la terre une somme enfouie

Son cœur *avec*. (La Fontaine, *Fables*, iv, so.)

And in familiar language: il a pris mes livres et est parti *avec*.

arrière (from *à* and *rière*'), *dessus, par-dessus, dessous, par-dessous, paravant, auparavant, d'or en avant* (which has become *dorénavant*), *désormais* (= *dès-or-mais*), *jamais*.

(iii) Combination of an adjective with a substantive.—In Classical Latin we have *hodie* = *hoc die*, 'this day'; *magno opere*, 'with great work,' i. e. 'much.'

On this type Old French created the adverbs *oan* (*this year*), *buer, mar* (Lat. *bona hora, mala hora*), and Modern French has preserved or created the adverbs and adverbial phrases *beaucoup, tous jours* (now *toujours*), *autrefois, une fois, quelquefois, toutefois* (formerly *toutes voies*), *quelque part, nulle part, &c.*

In this category must also be placed the adverbs in *-ment*, formed from a feminine adjective and the suffix *-ment*, which represents the Latin ablative *mente* (from the feminine noun *mens*, meaning *mind*, and, by extension, *manner*), e.g. *bonnement* is derived from *bona mente*, which means literally 'in a good mind, in a good manner.' Originally the substantive was not merged with the adjective, and we find, in Old French, instances of two adverbs normally ending in *-ment* following one another, in which the termination *-ment* is omitted from the first adverb: *humile et dulcement* (*Chanson de Roland*, l. 1163); as we should still say in French: *d'une humble et douce manière*.

Notes.—(1) The adjective is feminine in form. Several cases must be distinguished under this head:

(a) In certain adjectives the feminine forms were indistinguishable in Old French from the masculine: *fort, grand, tel, mortel, gentil, constant, &c.* (§ 180). The feminines of such adjectives as constituent parts of adverbs in *-ment* have been mostly remodelled according to modern rules. Thus we have:

O. F.
forment
grauement

Mod. F.
fortement
grandement

¹ = Eng. *war*.

O. F.	Mod. F.
<i>mortelment</i>	<i>mortellement</i>
<i>griefment</i>	<i>grièvement</i>
<i>loyalment, loyaument</i>	<i>loyalement</i>

But traces of the old formation of the feminine have been preserved in the following words: (1) *communément*, from the O. F. *communelment*, *communel* being another form of *communal*; (2) *gentiment* for *gentilment*, from *gentil*, an adjective, of which the masculine and feminine were identical; and also (3) in the adverbs which end in *-amment* and *-ement*. The feminine forms of *constant*, *prudent*, were also *constant*, *prudent*. The original adverbs must have been *constantment*, *prudentment*, &c., from which were derived *constan-ment*, *pruden-ment*, &c., and later on *constamment*, *prudemment*, &c. In Modern French almost all adverbs taken from adjectives in *-ant*, or *-ent*, remain faithful to this mode of formation. However, as early as the Middle Ages, and especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, literary men tried to restore to the adjective the feminine form it had when used separately, and to introduce *prudentement*, *constamment*, *diligemment*, &c. This attempt did not succeed, and the archaic feminine of the adjective persisted in use as a constituent part of the corresponding adverb, although it had become obsolete when used separately. Of this attempt traces have remained in *présentement*, *véhémentement* (§ 181, ii).

(b) The adjectives above mentioned must not be confused with derivatives from Latin adjectives in *-entus*, *-enta*, which had distinct masculine and feminine forms:

<i>lentus</i>	<i>lenta</i>	<i>lent</i>	<i>lente</i>
<i>opulentus</i>	<i>opulenta</i>	<i>opulent</i>	<i>opulente</i>
<i>violentus</i>	<i>violenta</i>	<i>violent</i>	<i>violente</i>

Lentement, the adverb from *lent*, is regular (Lat. *lenta-mente*). The adverbs from *opulent* and *violent* are irregular and were formed by analogy with the adverbs in *-amment*

and -*omment*: *opulemment*, *violemment*, instead of *opulente-ment*, *violente-ment*, being adopted.

(2) In some cases the adjective is, or rather appears to be, masculine; this seldom occurs except in Modern French. *Aveuglément*, *commodément*, *conformément*, *opiniâtrément*, are really derived, not from the corresponding adjectives *aveugle*, *commode*, &c., but from feminine past participles: *aveuglée*, (*ac*)*commodée*, *conformée*, *opiniâtrée*. They lost the final *e* marking the feminine gender, just as the substantive *agrément* became *agrément*. Similarly, *joliement*, *gaiement*, *duement*, have become *joliment*, *gaïment*, *dûment*, just as the substantives *châtiment*, *paiement*, *éternuement*, have become *châtiment*, *païment*, *éternûment*.

Some adverbs have been affected by adverbs similar in sound. Thus *immensément* was formed on the model of *sensément*, and *uniformément* and *énormément* were formed on that of *conformément*.

Finally, others have been affected by the Latin adverbs ending with the vowel *ē*: *confus*, *confuse*; *diffus*, *diffuse*; *exprès*, *expresse*, have given *confusément*, *diffusément*, *expressément* (instead of *confusement*, *diffusement*, *expressement*), because of the Latin adverbs *confusē*, *diffusē*, *expressē*. Similarly the adverb *impunément* has been formed from the Latin *impunē*, and has replaced the old adverb *impuniement*, corresponding to the feminine *impunie*.

This formation of adverbs in -*ment* has developed extraordinarily in French. The suffix -*ment* has even been added to some adverbs: *comment* is the adverb *com* (Lat. *com*) + -*ment*; *quasiment* is the adverb *quasi* + -*ment*.

(iv) *Adverbs formed from phrases*.—Some adverbs have been formed by an elliptic combination of words forming a statement.

Naguère, from *n'a guère*, which is equivalent to *il n'y a pas beaucoup de temps*.

Picça, an O.F. adverb, is equivalent to *il y a pièce de temps*, *il y a un bout de temps*.

Peut-être is equivalent to *cela peut être, il peut être*. Hence the use of the conjunction *que* in *peut-être qu'il a raison*. There should by rights be no hyphen in *peut-être*. [Cf. the Eng. *may be*.]

Cependant is equivalent to *cela pendant, la chose étant en suspens* (the matter pending).

Maintenant is equivalent to *la main tenant, pendant que la main tient*.

Ce nonobstant, and the still more elliptical *nonobstant*, are equivalent to *cela n'étant pas obstant, ne faisant pas obstacle*. [Cf. the parallel use of the English equivalent *notwithstanding*.]

We must also mention *oui* and *nenni*.

These two adverbs are formed from *o* + *il* and *non* + *il* respectively. It was for a long time thought that *oui* and *nenni*, which became *oui* and *nenni*, were formed from *hoc illud* = 'that is it' and from *non illud*, 'it is not it.' The explanation is erroneous. In Old French the answer used to an interrogation was either *o* (Lat. *hoc*) or *non* (of which the atonic form was *nen*), or else these adverbs followed by the subject of the verb (understood). To the questions:

1. <i>Ai-je bien fait ?</i>	{ corresponded the answers }	<i>o tu</i>	<i>nen tu</i>
2. <i>As-tu bien fait ?</i>		<i>o je</i>	<i>nen je</i>
3. <i>A-t-il bien fait ?</i>	"	<i>o il</i>	<i>nen il</i>
4. <i>A-t-elle bien fait ?</i>	"	<i>o ele</i>	<i>nen ele</i>
5. <i>Avons-nous bien fait ?</i>	"	<i>o vos</i>	<i>nen vos</i>
6. <i>Avez-vous bien fait ?</i>	"	<i>o nos</i>	<i>nen nos</i>
7. <i>Ont-ils bien fait ?</i>	"	<i>o il</i>	<i>nen il</i>
8. <i>Ont-elles bien fait ?</i>	"	<i>o elles</i>	<i>nen elles</i>

Of these eight forms of reply, the 3rd and the 7th, which were identical in form, were most used. They gradually lost their etymological signification and became the signs of affirmation or negation pure and simple.

261. SIGNIFICATION OF ADVERBS.—The adverb is used to limit the meaning of the verb by expressing the circumstances of the action denoted by the verb. Adverbs may be divided into several classes according to the nature of these circumstances.

Adverbs of place: *en, y, ici, là, où, en haut, en bas, ailleurs, partout, &c.*

Adverbs of time: *hier, demain, alors, enfin, jamais, souvent, &c.*

Adverbs of manner: *ainsi, bien, mal, ensemble, &c.*

Among the adverbs of manner are included the adverbs of quantity: *combien, très, presque, tout, tant, plus, moins, &c.*

We may consider as adverbs of quantity the adverbs of indefinite quantity used absolutely: *beaucoup, peu, trop, asses, &c.*

Adverbs of mode¹: *oui, non, certes, vraiment, peut-être, nécessairement, &c.*

We must remember that some adverbs are also used as pronouns: *en, y, dont* (Book IV, §§ 399, 413).

262. THE ORIGINS OF FRENCH PREPOSITIONS.—French prepositions have been either derived from corresponding Latin prepositions or formed by composition.

263. PREPOSITIONS DERIVED FROM LATIN PREPOSITIONS.—The majority of French prepositions are derived from Latin prepositions:

Latin.	French.	Latin.	French.
ad	d	per	par
contra	contre	pro	pour
de	de	sine	sans
in	en	versus	vers
inter	entre	super	sur
ultra	outré		

[¹ Sometimes called *adverbs of affirmation and negation.*]

Some are derived from Latin adverbs, which had previously become prepositions:

subtus	sous	foris	fors and hors
retro	rière	pressum	près

In Gallo-Romanic new prepositions were formed from Latin substantives: *chez* from *casam* (= *in the house of*), *les* from *latus* (*side, by the side of, beside*).

264. PREPOSITIONS OF FRENCH FORMATION.—In French there exist compound prepositions formed from either two prepositions, or an adverb preceded by a preposition: *devers, envers, dessus, dessous, arrière, derrière, depuis, après*.

Others have been formed from prepositions followed by an object case of either an adjective or a pronoun: e.g. *dès*, from the Latin *de ipso*; *parmi*, which replaced the old adverb *enmi*, from the Latin *in medio* (*in the middle*).

Prepositions have also been created from present or past participles: *durant, pendant, suivant, touchant, moyennant; attendu, excepté, supposé, &c.*; *res* (Latin *rasus*), past participle of the O. F. verb *rêre* (Mod. F. *raser*), which signifies 'on a level with': *res pied, res terre*. *Malgré* is composed of an adjective and a substantive; *malgré lui* is equivalent to *au mauvais gré de lui* (*to his dissatisfaction*). This primitive sense is preserved in the locution *malgré qu'il en ait* = 'whatever dissatisfaction he may have therefrom,' and, hence, *in spite of him*.

We must distinguish, from the formations just dealt with, the prepositional phrases formed from either adverbs or substantives followed by the preposition *de* or *à*: *loin de, près de, proche de, au delà de, en dedans de, auprès de, au-dessus de; à cause de, en dépit de, en face de, vis-à-vis de*; and, with the ellipsis of the preposition, *vis-à-vis, en face*¹.

¹ E.g. *vis-à-vis son frère; en face la maison*. These expressions are used, but are regarded as inelegant.

Prepositions, whether simple or compound (with the exception of the prepositional phrases), cannot be essentially distinguished from adverbs. Both in the past and in the present the language has failed to make the distinction, especially in the case of compound adverbs and of prepositions formed of two or more particles. At the present time *dessus*, *dessous*, *dehors*, *dedans*, are adverbs. But they were formerly both adverbs and prepositions, and even at the present day they retain their prepositional use when they are combined with and preceded by another preposition: *par dessus la table*, *de dessous la table*, *par dedans la maison*, *de dehors les murs*.

265. SIGNIFICATION OF PREPOSITIONS.—Prepositions denote certain general relations between two terms called *the antecedent* and *the consequent*. They denote relations of—

- (1) place and direction: *à, de, vers, sur, en, dans, chez*, &c.
- (2) time and duration: *à, avant, depuis, après, pendant*, &c.
- (3) cause, means, or purpose: *à, de, par, pour*, &c.
- (4) manner: *à, selon, suivant, d'après, de*, &c.

The prepositions *à* and *de* still denote, besides the relations of place, time, manner, &c., those relations which the Latin declension expressed by means of the genitive, dative, and ablative cases.

266. CONJUNCTIONS PROPERLY SO CALLED.—The true conjunctions are:

Latin.	French.	Latin.	French.
et	et	quod, quid	que
neque	ni	quando	quand
aut	ou	si	si

The other simple and compound conjunctions, *mais*, *comme*, *aussi*, *ainsi*, *cependant*, *pourtant*, &c., are only adverbs used absolutely.

267. CONJUNCTIVE PHRASES.—French uses conjunctive phrases. These are formed in two ways: by combining the simple conjunction *que* either (1) with a preposition, or (2) with a noun.

(i) *Preposition + que*.—In Old French this kind of conjunction was formed by the combined use of a preposition, the demonstrative *ce* governed by the preposition, and the conjunction *que*: *à ce que, avant ce que, après ce que, depuis ce que, pour ce que, par ce que, jusqu'à ce que, puis ce que, sans ce que, &c.*

From some of these phrases the pronoun has been dropped at a more or less recent period: *avant que, après que, depuis que, pour que* (blamed by Vaugelas), *puisque*.

Ce has been preserved in the other phrases. It is difficult to say why it has been preserved in one case and dropped in another.

(ii) The remaining conjunctive phrases are merely prepositional phrases in which the *de* has been replaced by *que*: *à cause de, à cause que; afin de, afin que*.

268. SIGNIFICATION OF CONJUNCTIONS.—Conjunctions join two statements, forming either (1) a co-ordinating link, which connects statements independent of one another, e.g. *et, ou, ni*; or (2) a subordinating link, which makes a statement considered as accessory depend on another statement considered as the principal statement, e.g. *que* and the *conjunctive phrases*.

II. Interjections.

269. THE INTERJECTION.—The interjection is not, properly speaking, a part of speech. It is not a word, as it expresses no idea. It is a *cry* expressing some sudden emotion: e.g. *ah, aïe, ha, bah, ouais, hé, fi, ho, ô, ah*.

The majority of French interjections have been derived from Latin. French has created others, either—

(1) by adding to certain existing interjections words having a proper meaning: *hola* = *ho* + *là*; *hélas*, in O.F. *hé! las* = *hé! + las* (*weary*) in the masculine, *hé! lasse*, in the feminine, the adjective being not yet fused with the interjection: *Ha! las! dist-il cons or sui engeignies* (Mod. F. *Hé, malheureux, dit-il, comme maintenant [je] suis trompé. Couronnement Louis*, l. 90); *Ha, fet elle, lasse chétive* (Mod. F. *He! fait-elle, malheureuse prisonnière. Dolopathos*, l. 4024); or

(2) by using as interjections certain parts of speech (nouns, verbs, or adverbs): *ciel, dieu, dame* (Lat. *domine*), *diable, diantre, bon, ferme, bien, ça, or çà, allons, tiens, va da* (from *dia*, a contraction from *dī* and *va*, the imperatives of *dire* and *aller*), *aga* (now obsolete, an abbreviation for the O.F. *agare*, the imperative of the O.F. verb *agarer* = *to look*), &c.

BOOK III

FORMATION OF WORDS AND LIFE OF WORDS

270. THE THREE SOURCES OF THE FRENCH VOCABULARY.

— Words not only undergo modifications in sound and form, but they may also on the one hand give rise to new words, and on the other undergo change of meaning. We now come therefore to a new series of enquiries into the elements of the vocabulary.

Popular Latin possessed several thousands of words which ultimately became French words by a mere change of pronunciation. But this primitive vocabulary soon became inadequate to express the new ideas that the uninterrupted growth of civilization was destined to call forth. It became progressively richer, the inevitable losses being more than compensated for by yet greater additions, so that in the 19th century it attained the formidable total of some 200,000 words, presented in *Littre's French Dictionary*.

This process of enrichment of the language may be resolved into three modes.

1. Popular Latin had recourse to certain methods of composition and derivation which the French language has continued to use and to develop. French has thus drawn from the words already in existence in the language

an immense array of new words, by the use of certain combinations with prefixes, suffixes, or other words. These are the words of **Popular Formation**.

2. Owing to political, commercial, and industrial relations, &c., which form a bond of union among nations, French has been enriched in various degrees by borrowing from the other languages of the world at large a number of words, and assimilating them. These are the **Borrowings from Foreign Tongues**.

3. During the Middle Ages the sciences, theological, philosophical, and natural, were expressed, as they grew, in *Low Latin*; a little later on, from the time of the Renaissance, French writers began to study and imitate the writers of ancient Greece and Rome; and hence a number of words and significations borrowed from Low Latin, Classical Latin, and Greek, were introduced, and even Greek and Latin modes of composition and derivation were transplanted, into the French language. Words borrowed or formed in this way we term words of **Learned Formation**.

2 The examination of these three groups of words will lead us to trace out the origins of the vocabulary: this we term the study of the **Formation of Words**.

In a second part we shall consider words in their various meanings: this we term the study of the **Life of Words**.

FIRST PART

FORMATION OF WORDS

CHAPTER I

POPULAR FORMATION OF WORDS

271. TWO MODES OF POPULAR FORMATION.—Popular formation comprises popular composition and popular derivation.

SECTION I.—*Popular Composition.*

INTRODUCTION.—272. Compound words.—273. Three kinds of composition.—274. Juxtaposition.—275. Elliptical composition.—276. Composition with particles.—277. Orthography and pronunciation of compound words.—278. Relative position of the determinant and determinate.

I. JUXTAPOSITION.—279. Substantives formed by juxtaposition.—280. Juxtaposites of co-ordination (substantive and adjective).—281. Juxtaposites of subordination (substantive and substantive).—282. Figurative locutions (synecdoche, metaphor, metonymy).—283. Other substantives formed by juxtaposition.—284. Adjectives formed by juxtaposition.—285. Pronouns formed by juxtaposition.—286. Verbs formed by juxtaposition.—287. Indeclinable words formed by juxtaposition.

II. COMPOSITION WITH PARTICLES.—288. Particles.—289. Form of compounds with particles.—290. Grammatical function of particles.—291. Use of particles.—292. Parasynthetic verbs.—293. Parasynthetic nouns.—294. Study of the various particles.

III. COMPOSITION PROPERLY SO CALLED = COMPOSITION BY ELLIPSIS.—295. Ellipsis.—296. Compounds by apposition.—297. Compounds with a genitive.—298. Substantives compounded of a preposition and a noun or a verb.—299. Substantives compounded of an adverb and a substantive or an adjective.—300. Verbs compounded of a substantive and a verb of which it is the direct or indirect object.—301. Compounds the first component of which is a finite part of a verb.—302. Irregular compounds.

Introduction.

As a preliminary to the study of compound words certain general considerations are necessary.

372. COMPOUND WORDS.—We have already seen (Book II, p. 180) that every substantive comes into being as a qualifying word. In fact the substantive designates the object by a single quality, its most salient one. The image of this particular quality which the substantive awakens in the mind gradually calls up that of the other qualities; and consequently the name of this particular image becomes in time the exact representation of the whole image of the object: the qualifying word thus comes to designate the whole of the qualities, that is the substance, and becomes a substantive. Thus *drapeau* signified originally 'piece of stuff' (*drap*). When this word was applied to a *flag* it designated it by calling up first the image of the stuff. Then the secondary images, which, taken together with the first, constitute the flag, grew to be associated with that of the stuff itself; so that the word *drapeau* came to express the object, *flag*, with all its qualities.

Thus, every substantive being originally a noun of quality designating an object by one of its qualities, we can define it as a determinant *that specifies a determinate unexpressed*.

Express the determinate also, and you have a compound word. In *chou-fleur* (*cauliflower* = a *chou* which is at the same time *fleur*), *chou* is the general term, which is determined by the particular term *fleur* (terminal efflorescence from the leaves). In *chef-lieu* (*chief town* = a *lieu*, place whose characteristic is to be the principal, the *chef*), *chef* is the determinant, *lieu* the determinate. In *arc-en-ciel* (*rainbow* = *arc*, bow, whose characteristic is to appear in the sky, *ciel*), *en-ciel* is the determinant, *arc* the determinate.

A compound noun, then, defines an object by means of

a general term, the determinate, and a particular term, the determinant, which restricts its extension (§ 130).

The difference between the simple noun and the compound noun is consequently a mere external difference; essentially and logically the history of the meaning is the same in both. We have in both cases the obliteration of the particular image expressed by the determinant through the single image presented by the object as a whole. Just as *drapeau* has lost its first meaning of a piece of cloth, and now evokes in our minds the simple and single image of a flag, so in *chou-fleur* the two images of *chou* and of *fleur* have dropped, leaving only the simple and single image of a cauliflower.

Compare *pomme d'acajou* and *pomme de terre*. *Pomme d'acajou* signifies 'an apple or similar fruit produced by the *acajou*' (*cashew*). *Pomme de terre* does not recall the idea of 'an apple or similar fruit, which grows in the ground,' but the simple and single image of the potato.

It is only on reflexion that *pain d'épices* (*gingerbread*) is analyzed into *pain* (*bread*) made with *épices* (*spices*); that *licou* (*halter*) is explained by the idea of *lier* (*to bind*) and the idea of *cou* (*neck*), &c.

These compound words have become simple to the mind because they evoke simple images. The unity of the image makes the unity of the word.

These principles rule the whole theory of compound words; they apply not only to nouns but to all kinds of compound words. Compound words become *logically* simple as soon as the several ideas evoked by each of the terms of the compound have merged into one dominant idea.

273. THREE KINDS OF COMPOSITION.—There are three kinds of composition: apparent composition or juxtaposition; composition properly so called, or elliptical composition; composition with particles.

274. JUXTAPOSITION.—Juxtaposition consists in the union of two or more terms, grouped according to the ordinary laws of the language without transgressing the rules of syntax, and without ellipsis, which through frequent use have finally merged the images of the determinant, or determinants, and determinate into the unity of a simple image: *pomme de terre, arc-en-ciel, gendarme, vinaigre, fer-blanc*. We shall call words formed by juxtaposition *juxtaposites*.

275. ELLIPTICAL COMPOSITION.—In composition properly so called, or elliptical composition, more ideas are comprised in the word formed than are expressed by the component terms taken separately: this really depends upon an ellipsis. In *timbre-poste* there is the ellipsis of a preposition—*timbre de la poste* or *pour la poste*; in *arrière-cour*, of a proposition¹—*cour qui est en arrière*; in *portefeuille*, of a whole sentence—*ce qui porte les feuilles*, or, using the imperative to be more exact, *porte, va porter les feuilles*.

In the apparent mode of composition by juxtaposition the component terms can only be said to form a compound from the time when they have lost each their own proper significations, and so made room for a single image. In composition properly so called, on the contrary, a word exists as a compound from the very day when the component terms are forcibly united by an ellipsis, even though the components may retain for some time their individual meanings before being reduced to the unity of image. It follows that compounds by juxtaposition have *as compounds* but one phase of existence, that in which they evoke but one single idea in the mind; whilst true compounds have two: the first when composition brings together two or

¹ [We shall follow French usage in employing the word *proposition* to denote any sentence or part of a sentence containing the finite part of a verb.]

several terms in defiance of syntax, and the second when these terms come to express only one single idea.

As this reduction to unity of image is the work of time and use, it comes to pass that certain expressions appear in an intermediate state, not yet grown simple enough to present unity of image, and yet familiar enough for the component terms to have become habitually associated and blurred. These expressions naturally vary with the use made of them by various classes of society; thus, many a locution formed by juxtaposition may have become simple to some and remain a mere collocation to others. The workmen who manufacture *blanc de céruse* (*white-lead*), and are called *blanc-de-cérusiers*, must consider the compound *blanc de céruse* as a simple word, which, for most of them, offers no character of composition. We reserve the name of *locutions by juxtaposition* for collocations of words which show this transitional character.

This distinction, of course, applies only to juxtaposites, which acquire the function of compounds, i. e. of single words, only when they are reduced to unity of image. With true compounds, which have existed as compounds from the very moment when ellipsis united their component terms, there is no need to inquire whether these terms are reduced to a simple idea in the mind or no.

276. COMPOSITION WITH PARTICLES.—Composition with particles, which has furnished the French language with the largest class of its compound words, comprises those compound words whose first element is either an adverb or a preposition: *bienheureux*, *soumettre*.

In certain cases it proceeds by simple juxtaposition: *maltraiter*; in others it partakes of elliptical composition: *arrière-cour*. It might have been thought unnecessary to consider this mode apart, instead of distributing its terms between the two first divisions. But it offers certain characteristics which are absolutely proper to itself when,

besides the prefix, a suffix is added: *em-barqu-er*, *entre-colonn-ment*. Indeed, the combination of the particle with the noun or verb is subject to a series of laws of its own, which include every possible form in this kind of composition. It is therefore necessary to treat it separately; and its proper place lies between juxtaposition and true composition, since it partakes of the characteristics of either.

Of course compounds with particles, like the others, obey the law of reduction to unity of image.

277. ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION OF COMPOUND WORDS.—Reduction to unity of image is sometimes shown by the outward form, by the spelling of the word. In certain compounds the component terms have merged in a single word: *plafond*, *vinaigre*, *gendarme*, *licou*, *dorénavant*, *dément*. These compounds present modifications of their components, both in pronunciation and spelling, in conformity with the general laws of phonetics. When union has not taken place in writing, the simplification consists in the suppression of the *tempus forte* belonging to the first of the component terms. Compare the pronunciation of *coffre* in these two sentences: *Voici un coffre fort* (Here is a strong box) and *voici un coffre-fort* (Here is a strong-box, or safe)—and you will hear the difference, resulting from the presence or absence of the *tempus forte* on the word *coffre*¹.

278. RELATIVE POSITION OF THE DETERMINANT AND THE DETERMINATE.—We have just seen how the component terms lose their own proper value for the sake of the new idea that their union has to express: both determinant and determinate are lost in one new and simple image. What places should they occupy respectively in the word which they unite to form?

¹ [In English, following the ordinary tendency of the language, the *tempus forte* falls on the antecedent, strongbox.]

The determinant expresses a particular quality, a phenomenon, relative to the determinate. Now the mind usually is at first struck by the qualities, the phenomena of objects, as it can only take cognizance of things by their outward manifestations. It is therefore natural, in those abridged propositions which we call compound words, for the determinant or attribute to precede the determinate : such is the case in Sanscrit ; and in German and English, as well as in Latin, we rarely see the determinate put first. The Romance languages, which are more analytic, must have receded from this primitive Latin construction ; in two-fifths of the cases, however, the synthetic construction of the Latin has been still preserved and the determinant precedes ; it follows in the other three-fifths.

1. Juxtaposition.

French possesses a great number of words formed by juxtaposition : substantives, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, indeclinable words. We shall duly examine them in the order of the parts of speech.

279. SUBSTANTIVES FORMED BY JUXTAPOSITION.—French employs various processes in forming substantives by juxtaposition. Sometimes it unites a substantive to an adjective : *bonhomme* (juxtaposites of co-ordination) ; sometimes it unites two substantives by means of prepositions : *eau-de-vie*, *char-à-banc* (juxtaposites of subordination) ; sometimes one or other of these two processes is used, under the influence of figures of speech, or tropes : *blanc-bec* (*greenhorn*), *pied-d'alouette* (*larkspur*) (figurative locutions) ; sometimes it has recourse to other simple and obvious modes of formation.

280. JUXTAPOSITES OF CO-ORDINATION (substantive + adjective).—(i) The determinant precedes : *basse-cour*, *beaux-arts*, *bonheur*, *bonjour*, *bonsoir*, *chauve-souris*, *fausse-*

monnaie, haut-mal, grand-livre (ledger), lèse-majesté, mal-façon, malheur, petit-fils, petits-enfants, plafond, printemps, ronde-bosse, sauvegarde, &c.—*Beaulieu, Belle-Isle, Clermont, Grandville, Noirmoutier, Richelieu, &c.*

(ii) The determinant follows: *branle-bas, chat-huant* (owl, lit. *hooting cat*), *coffre-fort, eau-forte* (*aqua-fortis*), *fer-blanc* (*tin-plate*), *main-chaude* (game of *hot-cockles*), *raifort, vinaigre, &c.*—*Châteauneuf, Montlaignu, Montrouge, Rochefort, Ville-franche, &c.*

The first term may be an adjective used substantively: *clair-obscur, gras-double* (*tripe*), *douce-amère* (*bitter-sweet*).

Note 1.—We may notice *juxtaposites* formed with the possessive: *monsieur, messieurs; madame, mesdames; mademoiselle, mesdemoiselles; monseigneur, messire, Notre-Seigneur, Notre-Dame*. The fusion is seen in various degrees of completeness. The following locutions: *mon cher monsieur, ton monsieur*—are now used currently, without a thought of the presence of the possessive idea in *mon*, the compound *monsieur* having become so thoroughly a simple word. So we say in the singular: *chère madame*, but not yet in the plural: *chères mesdames*. *Ma chère mademoiselle* is coming into use, but not *cette chère mademoiselle*. In the plural we do not use *mes chères mesdemoiselles*, nor *chères mesdemoiselles*, but *mes chères demoiselles*.

Note 2.—Notice the particular sense of *beau* in *beau-fils, beau-père, belle-mère, &c.* These expressions are derived from the peculiar use of this word during the Middle Ages, when persons greeted each other in conversation with the epithets *beau, belle*: *beau sire, belle dame, beau fils*. When these polite forms gave way to the less flattering and more simple expressions of *monsieur, madame*, they were utilized to express the relations of *step-father, step-mother, step-son, and step-daughter* (or

the same relations 'in law') which had been conveyed by terms which have since become obsolete: *parâtre*, *marâtre*, *filidre* (now *beau-fils*), *storge* (now *belle-sœur*). Of these, *marâtre* has alone survived in the metaphorical and pejorative sense of *step-mother*.

Note 3.—Compounds such as *conseiller-général*, *faux-monnaieur*, come from earlier compounds: *conseil-général*, *fausse-monnaie*. Now, these compounds being formed by simple juxtaposition, it was difficult to obtain derivatives from them. For instance, to convey the idea of 'member of the council general,' or of 'maker of bad money,' it was impossible to say: *conseil-général-ier*, *faux-monnoais-ier*¹. The language solved the difficulty by a bold construction; it made from the substantive its own true derivative: from *conseil*, *conseiller*; from *monnaie*, *monnaieur*; and to this concrete derivative noun it applied the adjective of the abstract noun, modifying its application: *conseiller-général*, *faux-monnaieur*.

281. JUXTAPOSITES OF SUBORDINATION (substantive + substantive).—In juxtaposites formed of two substantives the one governs the other: *char-à-bancs*, *eau-de-vie*.

We have to consider three periods with reference to the creation of this kind of juxtaposites: 1st, the Latin period; 2nd, the period of Old French; 3rd, the period of Modern French.

1. Latin period.—Latin used cases to express certain relations, which French expresses by prepositions. Hence it formed juxtaposites by means of two substantives alone, one of which depended on the other and was in the case that expressed this relation of dependence: *pater-familias*², *père de famille*.

Now, certain Latin juxtaposites have passed straight

¹ Cf. *ferblantier* (whitesmith). In *fer-blanc* (tin-plate) we no longer recognize the original component terms.

² *Familias* was an archaic genitive.

into French, undergoing the changes imposed by general phonetic laws. Thus :

<i>lūnæ dīem</i>	became	<i>lun-di</i>
<i>mārtis dīem</i>	„	<i>mars-di, mar-di</i>
<i>mēroŭri dīem</i>	„	<i>mercre-di</i>
<i>jōvis dīem</i>	„	<i>jues-di, jeudi</i>
<i>vēnēris dīem</i>	„	<i>vendres-di, vendredi</i>
<i>sāmbāti dīem</i>	„	<i>sambde-di, samedi</i>

Similarly: *Portus Veneris*, *Port-Vendres*; *pūlli pēdem* (fowl's foot = *purslane*), *pol-pied*, *pourpied*, *pourpier*; *oōmes stābuli* (count of the stable), *connétable*; *auri pigmentum*, *orpiment*; *auri-faber* (goldsmith), *orfèvre*.

In most of these words formed from Latin juxtaposites, their component elements became so completely amalgamated as to be unrecognizable: *pourpier*. In the rest one of the terms was still apparent, the other almost obliterated: *lundi*, *mardi*, *connétable*, &c., *Port-Vendres*; for while *-di* was known as a synonym of *jour*, and *étale*, *port*, were words of the language, *lun-*, *mar-*, *con-*, *-Vendres*, had no meaning. Only in a few cases were both terms still easily recognizable, each with its proper value: *orpiment*, *orfèvre* (*piment de l'or*, *fèvre de l'or*).

On the type of this class of compounds Old French created some new compounds, in which the genitive precedes the governing term: *ban-lieu*, *ban-cloche* (the *lieu*, the *cloche* of the territory, of the *ban*).

2. *Old French period*.—The preposition *de*, now used to unite one substantive with another to show a relation of possession, was in the Old language not expressed before the second substantive when this denoted a person or a thing personified, and was the logical subject of the former (that is, when it denoted a possessive genitive). *L'amour de Dieu* has one of two meanings: (i) *l'amour qu'on a pour Dieu* (the love of God)—in this case *Dieu* is the logical

objective of *amour*; or (ii) *l'amour que Dieu a* (God's love)—and in this case *Dieu* is the logical subject of *amour*; it is a possessive genitive. It is not the same genitive that we find in *le meurtre du roi* (the murder of the king), and *le crime du roi* (the crime of the king), respectively. Now, in *le crime du roi*, where *roi* is the logical subject of *crime*, Old French did not insert the preposition *de*; similarly it used: *la maison le roi*, and not *du roi*; *la mort Notre-Seigneur*, not *de Notre Seigneur*; *l'épée Roland*, not *de Roland*; *le frère Charles*, not *de Charles*; *les quatre fils Aymon*, and not *d'Aymon*.

This construction was lost in Middle French; the preposition *de* found its way everywhere. However, numerous relics of the ancient usage have survived.

(a) Juxtaposites: *hôtel-Dieu*, *fête-Dieu*, *bain-Marie*, *cuisse-Madame* (a kind of pear), *bourg-épine* (Alatern buckthorn), &c.

(b) Interjections involving the name of God, often disguised from religious scruples: *corps-Dieu*, *cordieu*, *corbleu*; *mort-Dieu*, *mordieu*, *morbleu*, *morguiieu*, *morguienne*, *mordienne*; *par le sang-Dieu*, *par la sang-Dieu*, *par la sambieu*, *palsambleu*, &c.

(c) Proper nouns of places: *La Chaise-Dieu* (*chaise* comes from the Latin *casa*, house or hut), *Rochechouart*, *Château-Briant*, *Fontaine-Bliaut* (*Fontainebleau*), *Font-Evrault* (*Fontevrault*), &c.

With the intercalation of an article: *Villeneuve-le-Roi*, *Bourg-la-Reine*, *Baygneux-les-Juifs*, &c. The article refers in the above and following instances to the first noun, with the sense of *celui*, *celle*: *Mesnil-le-Guérin* (= *Mesnil, celui de Guérin*), *Villeneuve-la-Guyard* (= *Villeneuve, celle de Guyard*), &c. (see Book II, § 199, note 2).

(d) Family names: *Jean Simon*, etymologically *Jean de Simon*, *filz de Simon*.

(e) Religious festivals: *la Saint-Jean*, *la Saint-Martin*, *la Toussaint* (for *la fête de Saint Jean*, &c.).

(f) Names of firms: *maison Pierre et C^o, librairie Delagrave.*

(g) Proprietary articles: *bensine Colas, pastilles Géraudel.*

(h) Certain expressions in political and legal phraseology: *le ministère Richelieu, le procès Bazaine, l'affaire Clémenceau.*

(i) Names of streets, squares, &c.: *rue La Fayette, place Maubert, boulevard Voltaire.* We find also *faubourg Montmartre, boulevard Montparnasse*, this genitive having been extended to names of places; but *avenue de la Gare, boulevard de l'Hôpital*, because the possessive genitive here refers to common nouns.

3. *Modern French period.*—The modern language forms its juxtaposites with various prepositions.

De: *aide-de-camp, blanc-de-céruse, chemin-de-fer, corps-de-garde, esprit-de-vin, gendarme, haut-de-chausses, homme de peine, main-d'œuvre, mont-de-piété, pain d'épices, res-de-chaussée, salle d'asile.*

À: *botte au lait, botte à lettres, ver à soie, chambre à coucher, machine à coudre, arme à feu, machine à vapeur, pot-au-feu, char-à-bancs, canne à épée.*

In *propre-à-rien, justaucorps*, the first term is an adjective used substantively.

En: *arc-en-ciel, croc-en-jambes, bachelier-es-lettres, bachelier-es-sciences, maître-es-arts, Arc-en-Barrois, Ars-en-Ré.*

Les (for *auprès*, from the Latin *latus*) is only to be found in some proper names of places: *Plessis-les-Tours, Saint-Maur-les-Fossés* (for 'Saint-Maur auprès des Fossés')¹.

Sur in some names of places: *Bar-sur-Aube, Châlons-sur-Marne.*

282. **FIGURATIVE LOCUTIONS** (*synechdoche, metaphor, metonymy*).—In a certain number of expressions formed by juxtaposition we must admit the influence of figures of

¹ [It is now replaced by *par* in modern postal addresses: *Tripied par Étaples*; see Syntax, § 471.]

speech, or tropes: *blanc-bec*, *pied-d'alouette*. At first sight one is tempted to regard them as words formed by ellipsis. *Blanc-bec* (*greenhorn*) would seem to signify 'an individual with a *white beak*' (*bec blanc*); *pied-d'alouette* (*larkspur*) 'a plant with a leaf like a *lark's foot*' (*pied d'alouette*). In reality we have here a simple juxtaposition, modified by a figure which might have the same effect on a simple word. Let us compare *bureau* and *tapis vert*. *Bureau*, like *bure*, signified originally a kind of coarse woollen stuff; this noun was applied by a trope to the covered table of an office, and then to the room in which the table stands. So *tapis vert* first denoted green cloth; then, by the action of a trope, the table covered by that cloth (*card-table*), and then the room where the table stands (*gambling-saloon*). There is no ellipsis in the transformations of the sense of *bureau*; nor is there any in those of *tapis vert*.

The figures that play a part in the formation of figurative locutions are: *synecdoche*, *metaphor*, and *metonymy*.

Synecdoche (§ 339) takes one term for another of unequal extent, replacing the whole by its part, or vice versa, &c. It mostly affects juxtaposites of co-ordination, sometimes juxtaposites of subordination.

(i) Juxtaposites of co-ordination :

The determinant precedes: *un bel-esprit*, *un blanc-bec*, *une blanche-raie* (*starling*), *une blanche-coiffe* (the *white-headed pie* of Cayenne), *une dure-peau* (a kind of *pear*, or *grape*, according to Littré), *un rouge-bord* (a *bumper*, red (*rouge*) with wine to the rim (*bord*)), &c.

The determinant follows: *un bas-bleu*, *un cordon-bleu*, *une gorge-blanche* (*white-throat*), *un pied-bot* (a man with a *club-foot*), *un tapis-vert*.

(ii) Juxtaposites of subordination: *bouton-d'or* (*buttercup*), *bouton-d'argent* (*white double ranunculus*, *bachelor's button*), *barbe à Jean* or *barbajan* (*owl*), &c.

Metaphor. *Metaphor* (§ 341) applies the name of one object to another with which it has points of resemblance.

Unlike synecdoche, it mostly affects juxtaposites of subordination, and but rarely juxtaposites of co-ordination. It has been used to create a host of locutions designating animals, plants, and instruments.

(i) Juxtaposites of subordination : *barbe-de-capucin* (curly endive), *boule-de-neige* (snowball tree), *dent-de-loup* (kind of peg), *oreille-d'âne* (comfrey), *pas-d'âne* (collsfoot), *pied-d'alouette* (larkspur), *pied-de-poule* (crowfoot), *œil-de-bœuf* (bullseye window, &c.), *tête-de-mort* (skull or death's-head moth), *œil-de-chat* (catseye, gem), *bec-de-cane* (duck-bill forceps), *bec-de-corbin* (halberd, halberdier), *queue-de-rat* (rat-tail file), *pied-de-mouche* (spidery writing).

(ii) Juxtaposites of co-ordination : *aigue-marine* (aquamarine, gem), *bouillon-blanc* (mullein), *cerf-volant* (kite, for flying), *fer-chaud* (actual-cautery, heartburn), *longue-vue* (spyglass, telescope), *dure-mère* (dura-mater), *pie-mère* (piamater), &c.

Metonymy. Metonymy (§ 340) designates one object by the name of another which is connected with it by certain constant relations.

It is by means of metonymy that those locutions by juxtaposition are formed which indicate certain kinds of pear : *un bon Chrétien*, *un Martin-sec*, *un Martin-Sire*, &c., for *une poire de bon Chrétien*, *de Martin-sec*, &c.

We may also quote : *un terre-neuve* (Newfoundland dog), *collet-monté* (precisian), *coin de feu* (dressing-gown), *un Saint-Augustin* (a kind of type in printing), &c.

Such are the three modes in which locutions formed by juxtaposition are taken figuratively. Usually metaphor is associated with synecdoche or metonymy ; sometimes even one metaphor is grafted on another. In *pied-d'alouette* (*pied de l'alouette*) not the whole plant, but one part of the plant, the leaf, is compared with a *lark's foot* ; and thus a synecdoche and a metaphor are united. *Bec-de-lièvre* (*hare-lip*) implies two metaphors and a synecdoche : the

cleft lip, which is the characteristic of this deformity, is compared to a *hare's* lip, and this again to a *bird's* beak; to this double comparison is added synecdoche, designating the individual by the name of the local deformity that characterizes him.

Some of the expressions formed by juxtaposition, modified by synecdoche, metaphor, and metonymy, do not show the gender or number which etymology would seem to demand; this appears to indicate an ellipsis. We find: *un rouge-gorge* (redbreast), *un rouge-queue* (redstart), *un grand croix*, *un pattepelu* (corn-weevil), *une bon-bec* (chattering woman);—*un trois-mâts* (three-master), *un trois-pieds* (tripod stool), *un trois-ponts* (three-decker), *un cent-Suisse* (one of the King's hundred Swiss guards), *une mille-feuille* (milfoil), *une mille-graine* (allseed). Originally these nouns had the gender or number required by the sense. Thus *rouge-gorge* and *rouge-queue* were feminine until the 18th century: 'La *rouge-gorge* est de tous les oisillons le meilleur à manger; c'est dommage qu'elle soit si petite' (Dict. de Trévoux, 1771). Furetière's Dictionary [1691] gives *une rouge-queue mâle*, *une rouge-queue femelle*. *Pattepelu* was feminine in the 16th century: *une pattepelue*. *Un bon-bec* was used before *une bon-bec*. So, in the reduction of the plural to the singular, the forms *les cent-gardes*, *les cent-Suisses*, *les Trois-ponts*, *les trois-mâts*, *les mille-graines*, preceded the forms *un cent-garde*, *un trois-mâts*, &c. This change of gender or number is due to the fact that in these locutions formed by juxtaposition the distinct components have been reduced to unity of image: they are now simple juxtaposites.

Such locutions as we have just treated may be used in apposition, becoming a sort of adjective. Thanks to this capacity, they were a copious source of proper names during the Middle Ages, and gave rise to a number of nicknames: *Bernard Plante-velue*, *Guillaume Longue-épée*, *Frédéric Barbe-rousse*, *Richard Cœur-de-Lion* [cf. *Saint-*

Jean Bouche d'Or, Chrysostom], &c. Such nicknames are the origins of many modern surnames; and this creation of figurative expressions still survives in country places and among the working-classes.

283. OTHER SUBSTANTIVES FORMED BY JUXTAPOSITION.—The other types of substantives formed by juxtaposition are so simple that it is sufficient to enumerate them.

I. Two substantives united by the conjunction *et*: *arts et métiers* (arts and crafts), *poids et mesures*, *ponts et chaussées*, *point et virgule* (semicolon), *chaud et froid* (in cookery), *éttoffe coton et laine*, and hence, by the dropping out of *et*: *point-virgule*, *chaud-froid*, *coton-laine*.

II. Adverb + substantive: *désarroi*, *désastre*, *mésaventure*, *non-sens*, *presqu'île*, *renom*. The substantive may be originally a participle: *bienfait*.

III. Present participle with a direct object: *lieutenant*, *ayants-droit* (claimants), *ayants-cause* (legal representatives).

IV. Two infinitives, one governing the other: *le savoir-faire*, *le savoir-vivre*, *le laisser-aller*, *un out-dire* (for *outr-dire*, obsolete).

284. ADJECTIVES FORMED BY JUXTAPOSITION.—These juxtaposites present various types of combination.

I. The adjective is formed of an adverb and an adjective (or participle): *bienheureux*, *bienséant*, *bienveillant* (whence *bienstéance*, *bienveillance*), *bien-aimé*, *bienvenu*, *maladroit*, *malentendu*, *malintentionné*, *mécontent*, *mécréant*, *désagréable*, *désobligeant*.

II. The adjective is formed of an adjective and a participle used adverbially: *clairsemé* (thin-sown, scattered), *clairvoyant*, *court-battu* or *courbatu* (stiff with fatigue), &c.

III. The adjective is formed of two adjectives, the first used adverbially: *demi-fin*, *demi-rond*, *tout-puissant*, *nouveau-né*, *nouveau-venu*, &c.

In the older language the adjective used as an adverb and determining the second adjective might be inflected: *chair hachée menue, œufs durs cuits*. Some traces of this usage still remain: *fenêtres grandes ouvertes, fleurs fraîches écloses, hommes ivres-morts*. We also meet this archaism in the rule that leaves *tout* declinable, although an adverb, before a feminine adjective beginning with a consonant: *toute-puissante, toute-bonne* (see Syntax, § 371).

Just as the conjunction *et* joins two substantives, it may also join two adjectives, and similarly be dropped out at a later stage: *sourd et muet*, which was still in use in the 18th century, has become *sourd-muet* by the loss of *et*. Present usage has turned this new form to account, to distinguish the *sourds-muets*, mute because they are deaf, from the *sourds et muets*, deaf-mutes by birth. On the type of *sourds-muets* has been formed in our own time the correlative term, *entendants-parlants*.

IV. To the class of adjectives formed by juxtaposition belong the numerals formed (1) by multiplication: *deux cents, trois cents, cinq mille, quatre-vingts*, &c.; and (2) by addition: *vingt-trois, cent huit, mil trois, cent vingt-sept*. The older language used: *vingt et trois, cent et huit, mil et trois, cent et vingt et sept*; from the desire for brevity the conjunction *et* was everywhere dropped, save before *un* and *onze*: *vingt et un, trente et un, soixante et onze, les mille et une nuits*. We say, however, *cent-un* (see Book II, p. 201).

285. PRONOUNS FORMED BY JUXTAPOSITION. — See Book II, §§ 206, 207, 208, 212.

286. VERBS FORMED BY JUXTAPOSITION. — Of these we find the following types:—

I. Verbs formed by the combination of a simple verb and a particle: *contre-dater, contre-signer, décharger, méprendre, mésevenir, parcourir, refaire, sourire, surmener*, &c.

II. Verbs formed of two verbs, the one governing the

other. Thus the verb *faire* is used in forming factitives: *faire tomber, faire faire*.

We must here again refer to infinitives used as substantives: *le savoir-faire, le savoir-vivre, un out-dire* (§ 283, IV).

III. See Book II, §§ 217-8, for the explanation of the forms of the future and conditional and the past tenses sprung from a juxtaposition: *chanterai, chanterais; j'ai chanté, je suis tombé*.

287. INDECLINABLE WORDS FORMED BY JUXTAPOSITION.—See Book II, § 260.

II. Composition with Particles.

288. PARTICLES.—Composition with particles combines a *radical* (substantive, adjective, or verb) with a *particle* (adverb or preposition) called the *prefix*. It combines them by juxtaposition, by elliptical composition, or by means of a third mode, involving the use of both prefixes and suffixes. Composition with particles is one of the most fertile sources of new words that the language possesses; its activity seems inexhaustible.

We shall first study the general characteristics of composition with particles; then we shall examine the special characteristics of each particle separately.

Speaking generally, we must distinguish the form of the compound, the grammatical function of the particle, and its mode of use.

289. FORM OF COMPOUNDS WITH PARTICLES.—The process of combination of radicals with particles comes from the Latin.

1. In Latin the first vowel of the radical was usually modified in compounds:

Facere	became fioere :	<i>perficere, conficere, reficere</i>
Placere	" plioere :	<i>displacere</i>
Tenere	" tinere :	<i>confingere, refinere</i>
Agere	" igere :	<i>adigere, subigere</i>

Nevertheless a certain number of compounds of later formation escaped this change: thus *placere* gave *com-placere* during the Empire. So we find *demandare* and not *demondare*, *pertingere* and not *peringere*, &c.

This new tendency to leave the form of the radical intact prevailed during the Gallo-Roman period. Not only did the new compounds of radicals and particles show the radical intact, but even in the older compounds the changed form reverted to the primitive form of the simple radical.

<i>perficere</i>	became	<i>perficere</i> , <i>parfaire</i>
<i>reficere</i>	„	<i>reficere</i> , <i>refaire</i>
<i>continere</i>	„	<i>continere</i> , <i>contenir</i>
<i>displicere</i>	„	<i>displicere</i> , <i>déplaire</i> , &c.

Only a few compound verbs, whose radicals had either fallen into disuse or assumed such a new signification that their component elements were no longer recognizable, passed into French without undergoing this restoration of the radical: *conficere* did not become *conficere*, because it had assumed the special sense *to preserve* (in cooking), 'préparer en confiture,' *confire*; *consuere*, reduced to *cosvere*, became the French *cosdre*, *coudre*, *coudre*, the simple verb *suere* of the same signification having disappeared. Similarly we find *concludere* from *concludere*, *cailler* (to clot) from *coagulare*, *coucher* from *collocare*, *emplir* from *implere*, *enter* (to graft) from *imputare*.

Particles were treated in the same way. The preposition *per* when isolated became in French *par*; in composition also it became *par*: *perdonare*, *pardonner*; *perjurare*, *parjurer*; *perficere*, *parfaire*. The prepositions *pro*, *trans*, became *pour*, *tres*, both when isolated and in composition: *providere*, *pourvoir*; *transillire*, Pop. Lat. *trassallire*, *tres-saillir*; *transaltare*, Pop. Lat. *tras-saltare*, *tressauter*.

The prepositions might acquire sufficient importance (in the sense) to be replaced by a neighbouring form of

similar meaning but greater volume, or even by another particle of similar sound. Thus:

E was replaced by **ex**:

elevare became **exlevare**, O. F. *ealever*
eligere „ **exligere**, O. F. *ealire*

De was replaced by **dis**:

denudare became **disnudare**, O. F. *deanuer*
dedignari „ **disdignari**, O. F. *desdaignier*
decreſcere „ **discreſcere**, O. F. *deacroistre*

Sub was replaced by **subtus**:

Submittere became **subtus-mittere**, O. F. *soumettre*;
 Mod. F. *soumettre*.

Subridere became **subtus-ridere**, O. F. *sosrire*; Mod. F. *sourire*.

Sometimes, even, there was an interchange between different prepositions of allied sense in (1) compound verbs:

CONTaminare was replaced by **INTaminare**, *entamer*
ILLuminare „ **ADLuminare**, *allumer*
INVitare „ **CONvitare**, *convier*

(2) Compound substantives and adjectives:

EXsequiae was replaced by **OBsequiae**, *obseques*
PROfundus „ **PERfundus**, O. F. *parfond*

It seems, then, that in the Gallo-Roman period the language felt the need of bringing the component elements more into light.

This is why in compounds of which the particle ends with a vowel, and the second term begins with a consonant, the union was never so complete as to hide the initial character of the consonant. The consonant was thus preserved, whereas, had the compound been considered as a simple word, it would have dropped out as a medial (Book I, §§ 63, 99):

contradiſcere became *contredire*, not *contre-ire*, *con-trire*
defendere „ *defendre*, not *de-endre*, *dendre*
recipere „ *recevoir*, not *re-isvoir*, *roisvoir*

On the other hand, certain compounds, which were considered as simple words because the radical had disappeared, or because the earlier form was forgotten in the actual meaning, present the regular application of the laws of phonetics: *tradere* became *tra-ir*, *tra-hir*.

2. Particles are either separable or inseparable. They are separable when they may be used alone, as adverbs or prepositions; such are: *à* (ad), *contre* (contra), *entre* (inter), *sous* (subtus), *sur* (super). They are inseparable when used only in composition; such are: *é*, O. F. *es* (ex); *dé*, O. F. *des* (dis-); *re* (re-).

These inseparable particles were originally adverbs and prepositions that could be used alone, but have since gradually dropped out of use, and are only preserved in combination with certain radicals. Thus in Latin the preposition *sæ* existed separately at the earliest period of the language; in classical times it was only preserved in composition: *securus* (*sûr*), *separare* (*sevrer*), *seorsum*, later *sursum* (*sus*). So in the transition from Latin to Gallo-Romanic certain prepositions dropped out of independent use: *ab*, *oum*, *circum*, *dis*, *ex*, &c.; again, some of these have been less fortunate than others, for *ab* and *oum* no longer form compounds in French, whilst *ex* still exists as a prefix.

The same holds good for the separable particles: *fors*, *outré*, are becoming restricted in their use or obsolete; *en*, *avant*, *entre*, *contre*, &c., are still in frequent use.

290. GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION OF PARTICLES.—Particles may be either adverbs or prepositions.

Bien, *mal*, *non*, are separable adverbs; *bes*, *des*, *es*, are inseparable adverbs.

Those particles which are followed by an object are prepositions, either separable or inseparable: *entre*, *contre*, *avant*, &c.

Prepositions are used (1) as true prepositions with an

object: *contre-poison*, *contre-sens* (= ce qui est *contre* le poison, ce qui est *contre* le sens), *embarquer* (mettre *en* barque); or (2) as adverbs, when the object is understood: *confrère*, *compère*, *commère* (*frère*, *père*, *mère*, in association with another *frère*, *père*, or *mère*). *Avant* is an adverb in *avant-bras* (*fore-arm*), and a preposition in *loge d'avant-scène* (*stage-box*). *Sur* is a preposition in *surtout* (*above-all*), an adverb in *surenchère* (*a bid higher*).

291. USE OF PARTICLES.—Particles combine with radicals in four different modes, yielding four different types of compounds.

1. (Particle + Verb = Verb.) A particle may combine with a verb to form a new verb; thus: *porter*, *apporter*, *comporter*, *déporter*, *reporter*, *supporter*; *faire*, *défaire*, *refaire*; *mettre*, *admettre*, *commettre*, *démettre*, *permettre*, *remettre*, *soumettre*.

2. (Particle + Substantive or Adjective = New Substantive or Adjective.) A particle may combine with a noun, substantive or adjective, to form a new substantive or adjective.

(a) The particle is an adverb and produces a juxtaposite: *bienheureux*, *déloyal*, *mésaventure*, *nonsense*.

(b) The particle is an adverb and forms a true compound with the noun: *arrière-cour* (*back-yard*), *avant-bras*. Here the noun is the subject of the adverb: *cour qui est en arrière*, *partie du bras qui est en avant*.

(c) The particle is a preposition and forms a true compound with the substantive which it governs: *contrepoison* (that which is *contre le poison*), *pourboire* (*gratuity*, that which is *pour boire*).

3. (Particle + Noun + Verb-Suffix = Verb.) A particle may combine with a noun and a verb-suffix to form a new verb: *barque* forms *embarquer*; *noble*, *anoblir*.

4. (Particle + Noun + Noun-Suffix = New Substantive or Adjective.) A particle may combine with a noun

and a noun-suffix to form a new noun, substantive or adjective: *colonne* forms *entre-colonne-ment*; *nature* forms *sur-natur-el*.

The two last kinds of composition require closer examination. Take *barque* and *embarquer*. The French language possesses neither the substantive *embarque* nor the verb *barquer*. Nevertheless, the synthesis of the prefix *em-* and the suffix *-er* with the radical *barque* suffices to produce the verb *embarquer*. Similarly, *entrecolonne* does not exist, nor does *colonnement*, but the synthesis of the prefix *entre-* and the suffix *-ment* with the radical *colonne* suffices to produce the compound.

This kind of compound, where both prefix and suffix combine with the radical, has received the name of *parasynthetic*, from the Greek *παρά*, indicating juxtaposition, and *σύνθεσις* (= put together): it well expresses a formation in which three juxtaposed elements concur in the formation of a new word by synthesis.

We distinguish *parasynthetic verbs* and *parasynthetic nouns*.

292. PARASYNTHETIC VERBS.—(i) Verbs thus formed generally belong to the 1st conjugation when the radical is a substantive, to the 2nd when it is an adjective, according to the general rules of the derivation of verbs (§ 318): *table*, *attabler*; *boîte*, *déboîter*; *caisse*, *encaisser*; *ool*, *accoler*; *ligne*, *aligner*; *os*, *désosser*; *pâte*, *empâter*; *doux*, *adoucir*; *faible*, *affaiblir*; *franc*, *affranchir*; *noble*, *anoblir*; *rond*, *arrondir*; *sourd*, *assourdir*. The parasynthetics in *-ir*, derived from substantives, e.g. *bout*, *aboutir*; *brute*, *abrutir*; *corne*, *racornir*; *terre*, *atterrir*; and those in *-er* derived from adjectives, e.g. *chaud*, *échauder*; *fol*, *affoler*; *gai*, *égayer*; *pire*, *empirer*, are few in number, and nearly all of recent formation.

(ii) The particle may be either an adverb or a preposition: *embarquer* is equivalent to 'mettre en barque,'

débotter to 'mettre hors la botte'; *barque* and *botte* are the objects of *en-* and of *dé-*, which are prepositions. On the contrary, *éclairer*, *éborgner*, are not equivalent to 'mettre hors clair, hors borgne,' but 'rendre clair, rendre borgne.' Here the particle *é* is an adverb, adding its signification to that expressed by the radical and the suffix; it becomes a sort of augmentative.

(iii) We must distinguish parasynthetic verbs from the compounds classified under § 291, 1. *Déborder* has two senses: it signifies, when speaking of a river, to *overflow* its banks (*bords*), *la rivière déborde*; it also signifies to *untuck* sheets previously tucked in (*bordés*). It is evident that we have here two different verbs: the former, being a parasynthetic from *bord*, is decomposed into *dé-* + *bord* + *-er*; the latter is formed by the simple verb *border* and the negative prefix *dé-*.

293. PARASYNTHETIC NOUNS.—Whilst parasynthetic verbs are very numerous, parasynthetic nouns are rare; the substantives: *accoinçon* (*a* + *coin* + *-çon*¹), *désérence* (*des* + *hoir*² + *-ence*), *écoinçon* (*é* + *coin* + *-çon*), *effûlage* (*é* + *fût* + *-age*), *embellie* (*en* + *bel* + *-ie*; *fine* or *calm interval*), *embranchement* (*en* + *branche* + *-ment*), *encadrure* (*en* + *cadre* + *-ure*); the adjectives and participles: *effronté* (*en* + *front* + *-é*), *embesogné* (*en* + *besogne* + *-é*; *occupied*), *englanté* (*en* + *gland* + *-é*), *engrélé* (*en* + *grêle* + *-é*), *forcené* (*fors* + *sen*³ + *-é*), and a few others, can alone be cited. We must, however, distinguish *parasynthetic adjectives*, which offer a very peculiar character. Take the word *marin*: it comes from the Latin *marinus*, derived from *mare*, *mer*; it is, then, decomposable into a radical *mar*, signifying 'sea,' and a suffix *-in*, signifying 'relative to.' Take now the word *sous-marin*, which means 'relating to what is under (*sous*)

¹ The termination is really *-on* + a *f* due to analogy.

² *Hoir* (Engl. *hoir*) is the unaccented form of *hoir*.

³ The German *Sinn* (*mind*).

the sea.' How does the combination of *marin*, 'relative to the sea,' with *sous* come to signify 'relative to what is under the sea?' It is that in the combination *sous-marin* the adjective is logically decomposed in such a way that the word *mer* contained in the idea of *marin* becomes the object of the preposition *sous*, and that the suffix *-in* which previously determined the substantive *mer* now determines the implied compound *sous-mer*. The change of connexion of the component elements may be indicated by the following scheme :

sous + mar-in becomes *sous-mar + -in*.

This decomposition and recomposition do not affect the word in its outward form ; they are purely logical, and confined to the process in the mind. Hence the parasynthetic adjectives reveal rather a logical composition of ideas than a material composition of actual words. This process is obvious in certain parasynthetics, such as *surhumain*, composed of *sur* and of the adjective *humain* from the Latin *humanus*. The word *homme* does not formally exist in *humain*, and yet in the parasynthetic *surhumain* the mind sees the substantive *homme*, as the object of the preposition *sur*, together with a suffix *-ain* making an adjective out of the imaginary compound *surhomme*.

The number of parasynthetic adjectives thus formed is daily increasing, owing to their employment in scientific nomenclature and to the Learned formation : *circumpolaire*, *interocdanique*.

294. STUDY OF THE VARIOUS PARTICLES.—We shall treat these in alphabetical order, starting from the Latin forms.

1. **AB**, (**A**, **ABS**), a separable Latin preposition, exists in some words which have passed into French : *abstinere*, Pop. Lat. *abstenere*, O. F. *asténir*, in Mod. F. *abstenir*, through a partial return to Latin orthography ; *absculus*,

a word of Pop. Lat., properly = eyeless, *aveugle*. [This particle has ceased to be employed since Gallo-Romanic times.]

2. **AD**, a separable Latin preposition. The *d* assimilated in Latin with the following consonant when this was a *o* (*accedere*), *f* (*af-firmare*), *g* (*ag-gravare*), *l* (*al-licere*), *p* (*ap-portare*), *r* (*ar-ridere*), *s* (*as-surgere*), or *t* (*at-trahere*). It was changed into *e* before *q* (*ac-quirere*). It remained unchanged before *d* (*ad-dere*), *j* (*ad-jurare*), *m* (*ad-monere*), *n* (*ad-nuere*), or *v* (*ad-volare*).

In French, popular pronunciation everywhere dropped the *d*, whether unchanged or assimilated, before a consonant or a vowel, in words derived from Latin and in new words. Thus *ap-portare*, *at-trahere*, *ad-jurare*, *adorare*, became in Old French *aporter*, *atraire*, *ajurer*, *aorer*. *Fol* gave the new compound *afoler*; *emplir*, the new verb *aemplir*. The purely French form of the Latin preposition *ad* in composition is then *a*, identical with that of the isolated preposition.

The Learned formation restored the unchanged or assimilated *d* in most compounds: *ad-orer*, *af-oler*, *ap-porter*, &c. The older orthography has persisted in *a-percevoir*, *a-baisser*, *a-battre*, without any obvious reason. The substantive *avenue* preserves the ancient form, the participle *advenu* shows the modern spelling.

Pronunciation has in many cases followed orthography; in Old French *ajoinde*, *amettre*, *avenir*, were pronounced as they were spelt; in Middle French the words were written *adjoindre*, *admettre*, *advenir*, but no change was made in the former pronunciation; in Modern French the words are now pronounced *ad'joindre*, *ad'mettre*, *ad'venir*. It is desirable that the assimilated *d*, at least in cases where it is not yet heard in pronunciation, as in *attabler*, *attaquer*, *appauvrir*, *accabler*, &c., should be dropped in spelling.

The preposition *ad* generally indicates direction towards

a person, object, place, or end. In combination with verbs of motion it always expresses the motion of coming or arriving, and not that of going or leaving: *abaisser* = 'faire venir à soi en baissant'; *abattre* = 'faire venir à soi en battant'; *amener* = 'venir mener'; *apporter* = 'venir porter.' This is why we say: *apportez-moi ce journal*, *amenez-moi ces enfants*, but not *apportez-lui ce journal*, *amenez-lui ces enfants*. This sense of *a-* is still well seen even in the most figurative expressions: *apprendre* properly signifies to take to oneself; hence, figuratively speaking, *apprendre une leçon* = to take a lesson into oneself, into one's mind.

The particle *a-* combines in modes 1, 2, and 3 of § 291, but not in mode 4.

Mode 1. *Abattre*, *amener*, *apercevoir*, *assaillir*, *attirer*, &c.

In most of these verbs the sense of *ad*, 'towards oneself,' is obvious. In some old verbs *ad* attained an augmentative signification by passing from the idea of the end attempted to that of the end attained: *aemplir* = to fill (*emplir*) to the brim.

Mode 2. The particle combines as a preposition with substantives and infinitives to form compound substantives: *à-compte*, *af-fût*, *ap-point*, *à-propos*, *à-plomb*, *a-verse*. See § 298.

Mode 3. It combines with substantives and adjectives to form verbs of the 1st or the 2nd conjugation. This formation of parasynthetic verbs is of singular richness. It already existed in Gallo-Romanic: *oor*, *oordis*, gave *so-oor-d-are*, *acorder*, *accorder*. French has never ceased creating parasynthetic verbs on this pattern.

(i) The radical is a substantive in: *aborder*, *accoler*, *accouder*, *accoutumer*, *adosser*, *affronter*, *agenouiller*, *approvisionner*, *aterrer*; *atterrir*, *accroupir*, *ahurir*, &c.

(ii) The radical is an adjective in: *accourir*, *affadir*, *amincir*, *amoindrir*; *affoler*, *approcher*, &c.

3. **ANTE** (and **ANTI-** in *anticipare*), a separable Latin

preposition and adverb. This particle is to be found in words of Popular formation : *antecessor*, *ancestre*, *ancêtre*, literally 'he who goes before'; *anteannum*, *antan* (les neiges d'*antan* = the snows of yester-year); in Old French *angarde* = '*avant-garde*.' *Ante* was not preserved in French. It is represented by derivative forms :

(i) *Ains*, *ains* (probably from the Pop. Lat. **anteis* or **antius*), very frequent in Old French as an isolated adverb, and as a particle in composition. The modern language has only preserved *ainsné*, *aisné*, in the form *ainé* (whence the derivative *atnesse*, *seniority*).

(ii) *Avant*, from the Latin *abante*, a combination of *ante* with the preposition *ab*, is compounded with nouns in mode 2, § 291, as an adverb or preposition : *avant-garde*, *avant-projet*, *avant-main*. See § 298.

Avant forms no compound in modes 1, 3, or 4; where Latin makes of *ante* and the verb *cedere* a compound verb, *antecedere*, French is obliged to have recourse to the periphrase *aller en avant*.

4. **BENE, MALE**, separable adverbs which form juxtaposites in Latin : *benedicere*, *benefacere*, *benemeritus*, *benevolens*, *maledicere*, *maledicens*, &c.

Some of these words have passed into French through ecclesiastical Latin : *bénir*, *benêt* (from *beneit*, *benoit*, Lat. *benedictum*), *maudire*.

They have also formed purely French juxtaposites (modes 1 and 2, § 291) : *bien faire*, *bien dire*, *bienfaisant* (whence *bienfaisance*) *bienfait* (whence *bienfaiteur*), *bien-heureux*, *bienveillant*, O. F. *bienveillant* (whence *bienveillance*), *malaisé*, *malembouché*, *malentendu*, *malhonnête*, *malpropre*, *matveillant*, O. F. *matveillant* (whence *malveillance*) ; *maussade*, *malmener*, *maltraiter*, *malverser*. The verbal compound is used as a substantive in *le bien-dire*, *le bien-faire*, *le bien-être*.

5. **BIS**. This separable adverb signified in Latin 'twice,' and served to form a number of compounds of which

one only passed into Gallo-Romanic : *bilanx*, Pop. Lat. *bilancia*, *balance* (= lit. double-tray).

This particle became in Gallo-Romanic *bes-* (*besace*), *bas-*, *bar-* (*barbouiller*), *be-* (*berouette*, *brouette*), *ba-* (*barioler*).

It combines in modes 1 and 2, § 291, to form juxtaposites.

In Gallo-Romanic, besides the Latin signification of 'twice,' it came to have a new, pejorative, signification which made it a synonym of the French 'mal.' The Latin sense is preserved in the following words—(a) (Old French): *besas* (*double ace*), *besaive* (Mod. F. *bisateul*), *besoncle*, *besante* (Mod. F. *grand-oncle*, *grand'tante*); (b) (Modern French): *brouette* (originally a chair with two wheels, *à deux roues*), *besace* and its learned doublet *bissac* (= *double sac*), *biscuit*, formerly *bescuit* (a twice-cooked cake). The following have the newer sense: *besvue*, *bévue* (*oversight*); *barbouiller* (*to daub*); *barbouquet* (pimple on the lip), from *bar-* and *bouquet*, diminutive of *bouque* (= *bouche*, *mouth*); *bluette* (formerly *besluette*, *berluette*, *beluette*, a bad little light, and, by extension, *spark*).

6. **CAL-**, a particle of unknown origin which appears in the forms : *ca-*, *cal-*, *cali-*, *calem-*, *coli-*, *chari-*.

It has a pejorative value and forms a certain number of compounds of popular character of type 2, a, § 291 : *cali-fourchons*; *colimaçon* (formerly *calimaçon*); *cabosser* (= *dé-former en bossoyant* (*to ding*, *dent*)); *charivari* (*vari* signifies *tumult*); *calembredaine* (in certain dialects *calembourdaïne*, where *bourdaïne* is a derivative of *bourde*; a piece of fantastic nonsense); *calembour* (the masculine of the preceding word, meaning a *play on words*); *camouflet*, &c.

7. **CONTRA.** This particle is separable, and combines either as an adverb or a preposition. It formed only few compounds in Latin, but has taken a great extension in French¹.

It offers an idea of (1) opposition: *contredire*, *contre-assaillir*, *contre-poison*; (2) exchange and return: *contre-*

¹ [It corresponds to the English counter-.]

aimer (Ronsard); (3) reversal of the action denoted by the verb: *contre-mander*; (4) an action parallel to a similar one: *contre-allée*, *contre-plantation*, *contre-signer*. These various significations are really referable to that of the Latin *contra*, which contained an idea of duality.

Contre combines (i) with verbs (mode 1, § 291): *contre-balancer*, *contrefaire*, *contrepeser*, *contresigner*; (ii) with nouns, as an adverb (mode 2, *b*): *contre-accusation*, *contre-allée*, *contre-appel*, &c.; (iii) with nouns, as a preposition (mode 2, *c*): *contre-poison*, *contre-sens*, à *contre-cœur* (see § 298). *Contre* forms no parasynthetics¹.

8. **CUM** (*oom-*, *oon-*, *ool-*, *oor-*, *oo-*), a separable preposition in Latin, meaning 'with.' The development of this preposition contrasts with that of *contra*; for, although much used in Latin, it is little used in French. Nearly all French words beginning with *oom-*, *oon-*, &c., are of Learned origin or formation.

Among those of Popular formation we must first distinguish the Latin compounds that have become French: *committere*, *commettre*; *computare*, *compter*, and *conter*; *collocare*, *colchier*, *couchier*, Mod. *coucher*; *coagulare*, *cailler*.

French has formed some new compounds in mode 1, § 291: *compromettre*, 'to engage another *with* oneself in a bad business'; in mode 2, *b*: *compère*, *commère*, where *cont-* is an adverb (see § 290); in mode 4: *compagnon*, from Pop. Lat. *companiōnem* (he who eats bread *with* another).

9. **DE**. This separable preposition, though very fertile in Latin, has lost much in passing into French; only a few of the Latin compounds with *de* have been preserved in the later language: *demandare*, *demande*; *demorari*, Pop. Lat. *demorare*, *demeurer*; *deaurare*, *dorer*, &c. Everywhere else *de* has been replaced by *dis-*, Fr. *des-*, *dé-*. In *débattre* and *déchoir* the etymological *e* feminine, from the Latin *de*, has been

¹ The only word that looks at first sight like a parasynthetic of *contra* is *contre-révolutionnaire*, but it is really a derivative from *contre-révolution*.

converted into close *é*, by analogy with compounds of *dé* from *dis*.

As a preposition *de* passed into French unchanged, and has entered into certain compounds of French formation: *debout*, *dessus*, *dessous*, *dehors*, *derrière*, *devant* (properly *de-avant*).

10. *DIS*-. This inseparable particle had a sense allied to *de*, and, having greater body, it has replaced it in most compounds originally formed with *de* (see above, pp. 409, 410): *defendere*, *demittere*, *deducere*, &c., became in Pop. Lat. *disfendere*, *dismittere*, *disducere*; *desfendre*, *desmettre*, *desduire*.

The Latin *dis*- also existed in the form *di*- which gave in French *de* : *divisare*, *deviser* ; *dimidium*, *demi*.

The form *di*- gave no new compounds ; *dés*- or *dé*-, on the contrary, has taken a remarkable development.

It most frequently combines in mode 1, § 291, with verbs, to denote the opposite of the action expressed by the simple verb : *décharger*, *déconseiller*, *deshériter*, *démembérer*. Sometimes the negative idea expressed by *dé*-, instead of being opposed to the idea of the radical, adds to it, and *dé*- then assumes an augmentative signification¹ (cf. § 292, 2) : *cesser*, *décesser* (popular) ; *plumer* (to pluck [a fowl]), *déplumer* (to strip of feathers [met. finery] a live bird). *Démaigrir* (in carpentry) means to plane down ; *délisser* (in millinery ; from *lisser*, to smooth), to smooth down.

The particle *dés*-, *dé*-, combines also, in mode 2, *a*, with either (i) adjectives : *déloyal*, *deshonnête*, *désagréable* ; or (ii) substantives : *dégoût*, *deshonneur*, *désarroi*, *désordre*, *désastre*, *déraison*.

Finally *dés*-, *dé*-, forms a considerable number of parasyntetic verbs in mode 3 : *déborder*² (to overflow), *dégatner* (to unsheath), *défroquer* (to unfrock), *déniaiser* (to

¹ [This obviously applies to verbs of diminution and removal.]

² See § 292, 3.

sharpen the wits of a greenhorn), &c. Here the negative idea is weakened: *dé-* appears as the synonym of *e*, *ex* ('to remove from' the connexion with '*bord*,' '*gaine*,' '*froc*,' the state of being '*niais*,' &c.).—In *dégueniller*¹ and its synonym *dépenailler* the particle seems to have the same augmentative value as in *déplumer* and *décesser*.

Dis- forms no parasynthetic nouns in mode 4.

11. **DE, EX**, a separable Latin preposition, indicates extraction, remoteness, privation, and is akin in meaning to *de* and *dis-*.

A few of the Latin compounds with *e* passed into Gallo-Romanic: *emendare*, O. F. *emender*, Mod. F. *amender*.

The *e* was mostly replaced by the more sonorous *ex* (see p. 411 above): *eligere*, **exlegere*, *eslire*, *élire*; *elevare*, **exlevare*, *eslever*, *élever*. In the O. F. *estraiire* (*extrahere*), *escuser* (*excusare*), and *espandre* (*expandere*), *es-* corresponds directly with the Latin *ex*.

French forms new words with *es-*, *é-*:

(i) Verbs, in modes 1 and 3, § 291: *esbattre*, *ébattre*; *eschanger*, *échanger*; *esmouvoir*, *émouvoir*;—*ébruiter*, *écarteler*, *effacer*, *égorger*;—*émerveiller*, *éborgner*, *effaroucher*, *éclairer*, *émousser*, *éclaircir*, &c.: in the last set of compounds the particle seems to assume an augmentative signification.

(ii) Substantives in mode 2, *a*: *chenal* (*channel*), *échenal* (*gutter*); *coin* (*wedge*, *corner*), *écoinçon* (*jamb*, *corner-piece*). Here the exact sense of the particle remains obscure.

12. **FORIS**. This separable adverb (meaning *out of doors*), seldom used in Latin, has become the French adverb or preposition *fors* or *hors*. In French compounds it appears in the forms *fors-*, *fours-*, *for-*, *four-*, *hors-*, *hor-*. It is found especially as a particle of composition in Old French, where it combines with verbs (mode 1, § 291) and with nouns (mode 3) to form new verbs expressing remoteness from the right way or direction, and hence, error, excess: *forbannir*

¹ [*To put in rags*; only used in past participle.]

(*bannir hors*, to banish beyond the territory, *ban*); *forvoyer*, *sourvoyer* (to put off the track, *voie*); *forligner* (*swerve*); *forboire* (drink to excess), from which *forbu*, *fourbu*: cheval *fourbu*, a horse that has drunk to excess, that is consequently ill, *founded*; *forvêtu* (erroneously written *fort-vêtu*; clothed out of, or above, one's condition); *hormis*.

Fors has been in some cases confused with *faux*: *faubourg* (a burg outside the city), *faufiler*, *faux-marché*, &c. We may also quote *hors-d'œuvre* (mode 2, c).

13 a. **IN** (*im-*, *ig-*, *il-*, *ir-*), a separable Latin preposition, has become the French *en*, which is also used as a separable preposition, as well as in the formation of compounds (in the form *em-* before b, m, p).

A certain number of Latin compounds with *in* have become French: *implicare*, *employer*; *implere*, *emplir*; *inlaudare*, *enclore*; *inducere*, *enduire*; *inflare*, *enfler*; *in quantum* (= for how much), *encan* (auction).

In French the particle *en* has formed a large number of new compounds. Mode 1, § 293: *enmurer*, *enfermer*, *enjoindre*, &c.; mode 2, c: *embonpoint*, *enjeu*, *entraîn*, *encas*¹, &c.; mode 3: *embarquer*, *embaucher*, *embaumer*, *encaisser*, *encourager*, *endimancher*, *enjoler*, *englober*, *enrôler*; *enorgueillir*, *enivrer*, *enjoliver*, *engloutir*, *enlaidir*, *enrichir*, &c.; mode 4, substantives: *emplacement*, *encorbellement*, *entablement*, *encâblure*, *envergure*, *encolure*, &c.

13 b. **IN**, an inseparable negative adverb (which must not be confused with the above), was added principally to adjectives and, more rarely, to substantives to give them a negative value: *indignus*, *instabilis*, *infelix*, *inimicus*, *infirmitas*, &c.

Of these compounds some have passed into French: *infantem*, *enfant*; *incinotam*, *enceinte* (adj.); *infirmitem*,

¹ [*Encas* means (1) a collation kept ready; and (2) a parasol stout enough to be used against rain. In the latter sense it is probably an abbreviation of the synonym *en-tout-cas*, itself a coinage of the last quarter of a century.]

O. F. *enfermé*; *integrum*, *entier*; *inimicum* and *inamicum*, *ennemi*.

Gallo-Romanic lost this particle, and Old French replaced it either by *neent*, *nient*: *nientcontrestant* (*notwithstanding*); or by *non* (see *non*, p. 425). The modern learned language took it up again and has given it great extension.

14. **INDE**, a separable Latin adverb signifying 'thence,' became the French *end*, *ent*, *en*, and is the modern adverb or adverbial pronoun *en*.

Latin did not use it in composition. French from the earliest times has added it, according to mode 1, § 291, to certain verbs of motion, to indicate removal from a place: *emporter*, *envoyer*, *enlever*, *emmener*, *ensuir*, *entraîner*, *envoler*,—*s'en aller*, *s'en retourner*, *s'en venir*. The modern literary language separates *en* from the verb in the latter compounds: *il s'en est retourné*, *il s'en est venu*. The popular language, being more logical, says: *il s'est en allé*; compare *il s'est ensui*, which is accepted as correct.

15. **INTER**, 'between,' a separable preposition and adverb, gave few compounds in Latin: *interdicere* has passed into French in the form of *entredire* (*to tell one another*); *interdire* (*to interdict*) is a Learned form reconstructed from the Latin.

This particle, after becoming the French *entre*, formed a considerable number of compounds in which its meaning varies. It signifies literally 'in the middle of,' and then, as the middle marks the half of the space traversed, 'half.' Figuratively it expresses the relations of two or several things in contact with each other, and, by extension, *reciprocity*, in certain verbs construed with the reflexive pronoun.

Entre combines with verbs according to mode 1, § 291, and signifies 'through,' or 'in the middle of,' in *entre couper* (*intersect*), *entrecroiser*, *entremêler*, *entremettre*. In *entretenir*, *entreprendre*, the primitive idea of *entre* has disappeared.

It signifies 'half' in *entrebâiller*, *entrevoir*, *entr'ouvrir* (to half-open). It indicates reciprocity in: *s'entredéchirer*, *s'entreregarder*, &c.

It combines with nouns, according to mode 2, *b*, (i) in the sense of 'between': *entrepas* (pace between a gallop and a trot), *entretemps* (meanwhile); (ii) in the sense of 'community': *entrecours* (interchange of rights between two districts), *entrelacs* (an interlacing); (iii) in the sense of 'half': *entrelarge* (medium, in width, fineness, &c.).

It combines as a preposition, according to mode 2, *c*, in the sense of 'between': *entr'acle*, *entrecôte*, *entrevoie*, *entreligne*; *interligne* is a form reconstructed from the Latin.

Entre has no compounds in mode 3. Mode 4 gives *entre-colonnement* (see §§ 293 and 291, 4).

16. **MALE**, see **BENE**.

17. **MINUS**, 'less,' a Latin adverb: in its accented form it has become the French *moins*, which is found in the expression *la moins-value* (cf. *plus*).

As an atonic adverb, used as an inseparable particle, it became *menos*, preserved in Spanish, then *mena*, which is to be found in Provençal, and finally *mes*. *Mes* is preserved unchanged before a vowel (*mésaise*), but is reduced to *mé-* before a consonant (*méplat*). It has a negative and pejorative value.

It combines (i) with verbs (mode 1, § 291): *mécontenter*, *médire* (whence *médisance*), *méfaire*, *se méfier*, *se méprendre* (whence *méprise*), *mésallier* (whence *mésalliance*), *mésestimer*, *mésuser*, &c.; (ii) with substantives (mode 2, *a*): *mégarde*, *méplat* (an unevenness, hence, a plane in a picture), *mésaise*, *mésaventure*, *mésintelligence*; (iii) with adjectives in the same mode: *mécontent*, *mécréant*, *meschéant* (present participle of the verb *mescheoir*, whence *méchant*).

18. **NON**, 'not,' a separable Latin adverb of negation, in French *non*, combines with substantives (or infinitives), adjectives, and participles: *non-jouissance*, *non-paiement*,

non-résidence, nonsens, non-valeur, nonchalant (whence *non-chalance*), from the old verb *nonchaloir*¹.

Non replaced in Gallo-Romanic the Latin negative *in-* (18 b), which had fallen out of popular usage.

19. *OB*, a separable preposition, exists in Latin words which passed into Gallo-Romanic by Popular formation: *oblitare, oublier; occidere, ocir, occir, &c.* Except in these words, *ob* has disappeared.

20. *PER*, a separable Latin preposition, the French *par*, was used in Latin to form compounds, with either verbs or adjectives.

(i) With verbs, *per* often had the sense of 'to the end': *perficere*, Pop. Lat. *perfacere, parfaire*; *perfundere*, O. F. *parfondre*; *percurrere*, O. F. *parcourre* (Mod. F. *parcourir*); *perjurare, parjurer*; *pervenire, parvenir*. French continued the Latin usage, and in the Middle Ages created a great number of verbs with *par*; hardly any of these have survived, except *parachever* (to finish, *achever*, to the end), *parfaire*, and *parfournir*.

Per in composition also signified 'through, here and there, about': *pervagari* (to wander here and there), *pervolare* (to fly hither and thither), *perspargere* (to scatter about). It is to be found in this sense in *parsemer* (literally, 'to scatter like seed'), *parfumer* (literally, 'to scent here and there with sweet smoke,' *fumée*).

(ii) With adjectives *par* expressed a kind of superlative: *pergrandis, perutilis*. Here also Old French followed the Latin and used *par* in the sense of the modern *très*, but usually separated it from the adjective by a verb or another adverb: *par fut bon* (he was very good). A reminiscence of this construction has remained in the

¹ Old French has the word *nonper*, Mod. F. *non parail*, which offers a singular elliptical construction, due to a confusion with *sans parail*: 'une beauté non paraille' signifies etymologically 'a beauty not equal (to another),' which is meaningless. It is intended for 'a beauty to which there is no equal.'

expression, which is no longer understood, *par trop*: *c'est par trop fort* (it is really too bad!).

Par, as a French preposition, combines with adverbs: *par-dessus* (whence the substantive *pardessus*, *overcoat*), *par-dessous*. It forms a compound in mode 2, c, § 291, in: *le parlerre*.

21. **PLUS**, 'more,' a separable adverb in Latin, which became the French *plus*, is used in the formation of *la plupart*, *le plus-que-parfait*, *la plus-pétition*, *la plus-value* (*surplus*, *rise in value*, *premium*) (which led to the formation of *la moins-value*).

22. **POST**, 'after,' a separable Latin adverb and preposition, became the French *puis*, an adverb which combines with *de* in *depuis*. It occurs also in composition with a participle in *puiné* (*younger son*) (cf. *ainé*).

23. **PRAE**, 'before,' a separable preposition, has not passed into French, but is found in some Latin compounds that have passed into French: *prædicare*, *prêcher*; *prævidere*, *prévoir*; *præstare*, *prêter*, &c.

24. **PRESSUS**. This participle of the verb *premere*, 'to press,' was used adverbially in Popular Latin, and has become the French *près*. *Près* is combined with the preposition *à* in *après*, which forms some compounds in mode 2, c, § 291: *après-midi*, *après-dîner*, *après-souper*; and with the conjunction *que* in the adverb *presque*, which is used in the compound *presqu'île*.

25. **PRO**, 'for,' a separable preposition in Classical Latin; became in Popular Latin and Old French *por*, which has become in Modern French *pour*. It formed compounds chiefly with verbs, some of which passed into French: *procingere*, *pourceindre*; *prosequere*, *poursuivre*; *providere*, *pouvoir*.

On this type French has created many compounds: *pourchassier*, *pourchasser* (*to follow up*); *pourfendre* (*to cleave in two*); *pourparler* (*to parley*; this has survived only as a substantive); *pourpenser* (obs., *to meditate long*); *pour-*

prendre (whence the participle, used as a substantive, *pourpris*, enclosure); *pourtraire* (whence *portraire*), &c.

Pour is an adverb in *pourtour* and *pourfil* (probably of Italian origin; now *profil*); it is a preposition in *pourboire*.

26. **RE-** (red- before a vowel: red-ire). This inseparable Latin particle became the French *re-* before a consonant and *r-* before a vowel: *reprendre*, *rappeler*. We must distinguish the form *ré-*, which belongs to the Learned formation (compare *réformer*, to reform, amend, &c., and *reformer*, to form anew). Sometimes *ré-* seems to occur in words of popular origin; but in such cases the *é* of *ré-* belongs to the radical of the verb: *réjouir* from *r-* and *éjouir* (O. F. *esjouir*).

The Latin particle possessed various meanings which have been preserved or even developed in French: they are all reducible to a fundamental idea of *opposition* existing in the primitive literal sense. In fact *re-* indicates or has indicated that one thing or action is set up against, or opposed to, another in one of the following ways: (1) in simple opposition: *recourber*, 'to curve so that one end comes against the other'; (2) so as to return the action received, or react against it: *repousser*; (3) so as to come back: *retourner*, *revenir*; (4) so as to replace something in a position that has been lost: *regagner ce qu'on a perdu*; (5) so as to be added to the other thing or action and increase it: *remplir* (to fill up), *raffoler* (to dote, go into raptures), *reluire* (to glow); (6) so as to replace or repeat the other thing or action: *redire*, *refaire* (to say or do a second time)¹.

Of all these varied senses, which have left numerous traces in the language, there is but one living: the sense of repetition. The language can no longer create new compounds with *re-*, except to denote the repetition of an action. This use of *re-* in composition is, however,

¹ [Compare our English *again*, *against*, with their senses of opposition and iteration.]

almost unlimited, as nearly all verbs may be preceded by this particle.

The particle combines with verbs according to mode 1, § 291: *redire*, *renommer*; with substantives according to mode 2, *a*: *rebord*, *reflux*; with substantives according to mode 3: *rebrousser*; with substantives according to mode 4: *replâtrage*, &c.

There is a certain number of verbs compounded with the preposition *à* which again combine with *re-* and so give the initial syllable *ra-*: *rabougir* from *abougir*; *rapelisser* from *apelisser*. In many words the particle *re-* has become *ra-* under this influence, although no corresponding primitive word beginning with *a* would seem to have existed: *rafratchir*, *rassasier*, *ravauder* (to patch, darn).

The popular language abuses the use of *re-*: it has weakened or effaced its meaning completely in a great number of compounds that express only a simple idea, and of which some have passed into the general language: *rappeler en justice*, for *appeler en justice*; *remplir¹ son verre*, for *emplir son verre*; *remonter¹ sa montre*, for *monter sa montre*; *réclamer*, *récurer¹*, *rapproprier*, *rassortir*, *renforcer*, for *élamer*, &c.; *une resserre* for *une serre* (greenhouse).

27. **RETRO**, a separable Latin adverb, 'behind,' or 'backwards,' became the Old French *rière*: *rieregarde*. Combined with *à*, it has given *arrière*. *Arrière*, in its turn, in mode 2, *b*, § 291, gives *arrière-bouche*, *arrière-boutique*, *arrière-main* (fem. *back of the hand*, and hence masc. *back-hander*), *arrière-neveu*, &c.; and, in mode 2, *c*, the other substantive *arrière-main* (masc., the after part or *crupper* of the horse, behind the rider's hand), the sole example of this mode of formation (see § 298).

28. **SE-**. An inseparable particle existing in certain Latin words, where it indicates separation, absence. Some of these have become French: *séjour*, *sar*; *separare*, *seurer*; but the particle has formed no new word¹.

¹ [These words are in standard use.]

Except *séduire* from *seducere*, which is of modern Learned formation.

29. **SINE**, 'without,' a separable Latin preposition, has become the French *sans*, which forms compound nouns according to mode 2, *c*, § 291: *sans-cœur*, *sans-culotte*, *sans-gêne*, *sans-souci*.

30. **SUB**, 'below,' 'under' (hence often = up to), a separable Latin preposition, exists in French only in words derived from Latin: *subourrer*, *secourir*; *subflare*, *souffler*; *suffler*, *souffrir*.

In most cases *sub* has been replaced by the more sonorous *subtus*: *subridere*, *subtusridere*, *sourire*; *submittere*, *subtusmittere*, *soumettre*.

31. **SUBTUS**, 'under,' a separable Latin adverb and preposition, has replaced *sub* in French in both its uses (see above, pp. 410, 411). It became successively *sóbtos*, *sótos*, *sóts*, *sos*, *sós*, *sous*.

Sous is spelt *sou-* when it is fused with a following word beginning with a consonant: *soucoupe*, *soupeser* (to *poise*). It combines (i) with verbs according to mode 1, § 291: *soubattre*, *soumettre*, *soupeser*, *sourire*; (ii) as an adverb, with nouns, according to mode 2, *b*: *sous-bail*, *sous-clavière*, *sous-dominante*, *sous-locataire*, *sous-maître*, *sous-préfet*, &c.; (iii) as a preposition, with nouns, according to mode 2, *c*: *sous-bois*, *soucoupe*, *sous-gorge*. It also (iv) forms parasynthetic verbs according to mode 3: *souligner*; and (v) parasynthetic nouns in mode 4 (logical parasynthetics): *sous-marin*, *souterrain*.

32. **SUPER**, 'above,' and **SUPRA**, 'over,' separable Latin adverbs and prepositions, became fused in Popular Latin, and gave the single form *sópra*, which became *sovre*, *sore*, *sor*, in Old French, *seur* in Middle French, and in Modern French *sur*, doubtless under the influence of *sus*.

In certain Latin compounds, which became French by Popular formation, the above particle took another form, *sour-*: *supercilium*, *sourcil*. As an isolated adverb the sole form is *sur*, and it is this form which enters into new compounds of French formation. —

Sur combines (i) with verbs according to mode 1, § 291: *surcharger*, *surjeter*, *surmener*, *surmoulu*, *surnager*; (ii) with substantives, in mode 2, *b*, as an adverb: *surarbitre* (*final umpire*), *surpoint*; (iii) in mode 2, *c*, as a preposition: *surlendemain*, *surtout*.—It forms (iv) parasynthetics in mode 4 (logical parasynthetics): *surnaturel*, on the model of which *surhumain* was doubtless created.

In most compounds *sur* preserves its proper signification; sometimes with verbs it expresses the idea of a superlative, meaning 'beyond measure': *surajouter*, *surcharger*, *surexciter*, *surmener* (*to overwork*, transitively).

33. SUSUM or **SUSUM**, a Latin separable adverb found in some compounds; e. g. *suspirare*, *suspirium*, which became in French *soupirer*, *soupir*.

As an isolated adverb this word has become the French *sus*. *Sus* was used in Old and Middle French both as an adverb and a preposition; it is now used only as an adverb, in composition according to modes 2, *a*, 2, *b*, § 291: *susdit*, *sus-énoncé*, &c.; sometimes in scientific nomenclature it forms logical parasynthetic adjectives (in mode 4), and then resumes the function of a preposition: *trou sus-orbitaire*, &c.¹

34. TRANS, 'across,' a separable Latin preposition, in Popular Latin *tras* and sometimes *tra*: *tradere*, *trahir*; *traducere*, *traduire*. As an isolated word the particle *tras* has become the French *très*, which signified originally 'beyond,' and hence figuratively 'beyond all limit.'

Très combined in Old French with verbs in mode 1, § 291: *tresjeter*, *tresmuer*; we find in Mod. F. *trépasser*, *tressaillir*.—It sometimes combined with substantives in mode 2, *b*: *trépointe* (*welt*, of boat).—It combines especially with adjectives in mode 2, *a*, and then serves to form the superlative: *très bon*, *très sage*.—It forms a parasynthetic verb in *trébucher* (*to slagger*, i. e. to let the body fall crosswise).

¹ [*Sus* is still used as an interjectional command, and in the archaic phrase *courir sus à* = *to fall upon, attack*.]

35. **TROP.** An adverb of Germanic origin, used in composition in the word *trop-plein* (overflow, &c.).

36. **ULTRA**, 'beyond,' a separable Latin adverb and preposition, became the French *oltre* (Mod. F. *oultre*), which gives some verbal compounds in mode 1, § 291: *oultre-cuider* (whence *oultre-cuidance*), *oultre-passer*; it also combines with nouns in mode 2, c: *oultre-mer*, *mémoires d'oultre-tombe*. Old French possessed a parasynthetic adjective: *oltre-marin*, *oultre-marin* (from beyond seas).

37. **VICE**, 'in place of,' a separable Latin adverb, the ablative of the defective substantive *vicis*. It combined in Latin with substantives: *vice-præfectus*. This construction passed into French, which changed *vice* into *vis*, *vi*: *viscomte*, *vicomte*; *visdame*, *vidame*¹. The Learned formation went back to the Latin form: *vice-président*.

Thus, from the prefixes, chiefly Latin, that we have just considered were taken the following French prefixes, some of which were lost in the growth of the language, while others are still in full activity. We put a dagger (†) against those which are no longer used in French:

<i>a</i> (or <i>à</i>)	<i>ad</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>
<i>tan-, ant-</i>	<i>ante</i>	<i>dés-, dé-</i>	<i>dis-</i>
<i>après</i>	<i>pressus</i>	<i>es-, é-</i>	<i>ex</i>
<i>arrière</i>	<i>retro</i>	<i>en-, eni-</i>	<i>in</i>
<i>avant</i>	<i>ante</i>	<i>ent-, em-, en-</i>	<i>inde</i>
<i>bien</i>	<i>bene</i>	<i>entre</i>	<i>inter</i>
† <i>bes-, be-</i>	} <i>bis</i>	<i>fors, hors, &c.</i>	<i>foris</i>
(<i>bas-, bar, ba-</i>)		<i>mal</i>	<i>male</i>
† <i>ca-, cal-</i>	}	<i>mes-, mé-</i>	<i>minus</i>
<i>cali-, cale-</i>		<i>moins</i>	<i>minus</i>
<i>coli-, chari-</i>		<i>non</i>	<i>non</i>
<i>contre</i>	<i>contra</i>	<i>oultre</i>	<i>ultra</i>
† <i>com-, con-</i>	<i>cum</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>per</i>

¹ *Dame* = lord.

<i>plus</i>	<i>plus</i>	<i>sans</i>	<i>sine</i>
<i>pour</i>	<i>pro</i>	<i>sous</i>	<i>subtus</i>
<i>pré-</i>	<i>præ</i>	<i>sur</i>	<i>supra and super</i>
<i>prés</i>	<i>pressus</i>	<i>sus</i>	<i>susum, sursum</i>
<i>presque</i>	<i>pressus</i>	<i>très</i>	<i>trans</i>
<i>puis</i>	<i>post</i>	<i>trop</i>	
<i>re, r-</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>vis-</i>	<i>vice</i>
<i>rière</i>	<i>retro</i>		

III. Composition properly so called = Composition by Ellipsis.

295. ELLIPSIS.—Composition properly so called is based on ellipsis. Here we must remember that the ellipsis is instantaneous—that is, the mind associates two objects, and forthwith translates this unity of conception into a more or less complete unity of expression. *Arrière-cour* did not start from *cour qui est en arrière*, but the images *cour* and *arrière* were joined, and at once fused into a single expression: *arrière-cour*.

This process sometimes makes it difficult to discover the true nature of the ellipsis. Should we explain *papier-tenture* (*paper-hangings*) as '*papier de tenture*' (paper of the wall covering), or '*papier à tenture*' (paper for wall covering), or '*papier qui est une tenture*' (paper which is a wall covering)? We cannot say. However, in most cases the ellipsis is obvious, and most compounds explain themselves.

Elliptical compounds may be classed according to the various forms assumed by the ellipsis. We shall proceed from the simpler to the more complex forms.

296. COMPOUNDS BY APPPOSITION.—The simplest form of elliptical composition is that which is based on apposition. It combines two substantives, one of which qualifies the other: *chef-lieu* (*lieu qui est chef*), *chou-fleur* (*chou qui est fleur*).

1. The determinant precedes: *aide-chirurgien*, *chef-lieu*, *maître-clerc*, *mère-patrie*.

2. The determinant follows: *bateau-mouche* (small river steamer), *betterave*, *café-concert*, *carte-lettre*, *chou-fleur*, *corne-muse* (bagpipes; *muse* = *musette*).

This mode of composition is very fertile. The language of commerce, industry, and the press uses it without limit, three, four, or even five, consecutive terms being sometimes combined; in this case the determinate always precedes the determinant.

It may happen that the determinant is gradually reduced to a mere qualification of the determinate; it then becomes an adjective. This is one of the processes by which the French language reduces substantives to adjectives (§ 306, II, 2).

Composition by apposition produces several series of compounds.

1. Proper nouns, such as *Frédéric Barberousse*, *Richard Cœur-de-Lion*. We have seen indeed (§ 282) that these locutions *Barberousse*, *Cœur-de-Lion*, might be used by apposition and become a kind of adjective. *Frédéric Barberousse* is explained as 'Frédéric qui a une barbe rousse,' *Richard Cœur-de-Lion*, 'Richard qui a un cœur de lion.' *Colin-Maillard*¹ and *Martin-bâton* were created on this type.

2. Titles of courtesy, modes of address, polite expressions, etc.: *Sa Sainteté le Pape*, *Sa Majesté le Roi*, and *Monsieur*, *Madame*, *dom*, *frère*, joined to names of persons; names of fruits and flowers related with the above: *reine-claude* (greengage), *reine-marguerite* (aster); finally, names of places where the Latin *dominus*, *domina*, are introduced as adjectives with the sense of 'saint': *Dampierre*, *Donremy*, *Dannemarie* (*St.-Pierre*, *St.-Remy*, *St.-Marie*).

¹ [*Colin Maillard*, apparently a proper name, = the blindfolded player at blind-man's-buff, and hence the game itself.]

3. Compounds formed by the union of one substantive denoting the object, and another substantive or locution denoting a coloured object: *une robe lilas, une étoffe gris-perle*.

Note 1.—In some cases it seems as if a preposition should be understood: *café-concert (de)*; *roman-feuilleton (en)*; *timbre-quittance (de)*. These formations show a confusion between composition by apposition and composition with a genitive which will be treated below (§ 297).

Note 2.—We must class separately compounds formed by two words of which one is a translation of the other. The name of the plant called *agnus castus* is formed from the Greek word *agnos (chaste)* and its Latin translation *castus*. The word *chanfrein* comes, through the Popular Latin *canus*, from a Greek term *kemos (muzzle)* and its Latin translation *frēnum*. The word *loup-garou* is formed of the French *loup* and of the Low Latin *garulfus*, itself a modification of the German compound *were-wolf (man-wolf)*. Compare the English *Mansion-house* composed of the French *mansion* and the English *house*, which is its translation.

297. COMPOUNDS WITH A GENITIVE.—(Type: *timbre-poste*.) We have seen (§ 281, 2) that Old French combined two terms, the second term of which was in the genitive, without the preposition *de*, when this second term was the name of a person, and the genitive was a possessive genitive: *hôtel-Dieu*.

We have also seen (§ 281, 1) that since certain Latin juxtaposites had regularly become French compounds (*orfèvre, orpiment*) the Old Language was led on to create certain compounds the first term of which was the indirect object of the second: *bancloche, banlieue, &c.*

The modern language has given up such formations, which had the defect of following the Latin construction and placing the determinant before the determinate (*orfèvre =*

auri faber). It prefers compounds in which the first term governs the second, and has thus created a certain number of compounds with the genitive which in outward form recall compounds by apposition, of the type *canapé-lit*, *chou-fleur*, where the determinant follows the determinate. Such are: *livret-police*, *malle-poste*, *timbre-poste*, *timbre-quittance*, *train-poste*, &c. Owing to the great extension in the present day of composition by apposition, the original relation between the component terms is much less stringently observed. The relation of co-ordination degenerates in some cases into one of subordination, and the language thus succeeds in creating true compounds with the genitive, to its own great enrichment.

We must, however, note the limits to this kind of composition. It does not appear possible that French should ever come to formulate combinations of two terms of which one designates a *person* in the genitive, analogous to the German *Vaterland*, e.g. *ancêtre-pays* or *pays-ancêtre*; or again *maison-fille*, *fille-maison*, analogous to the English *house-maid*. Composition with the genitive, which is inexhaustible in the Germanic languages, will thus always be restricted in French.

To composition with the genitive belongs the construction that unites a common noun, denoting a coloured object and playing the part of an adjective, to a true adjective indicating a colour: *vert-pomme*, *vert-pré*¹.

298. SUBSTANTIVES COMPOUNDED OF A PREPOSITION AND A NOUN OR A VERB.—(Type: *entraîn*, *pourboire*.) Compounds of this kind usually begin either as adverbs or adverbial phrases: *donner une somme à compte* (to pay a sum *on account*). Sometimes, however, the compound

¹ We must distinguish these compounds with the genitive (*vert-de-pomme*, *vert-de-pré*) from compounds by apposition already treated (§ 296, 3): *robe lilas*. They are also different from compounds by apposition, such as *châtain-clair*, *vert-foncé*, where the second adjective qualifies the first, which is used substantively. (See Syntax, § 372.)

is a substantive from the outset: *un contrepoison*. Here the ellipsis precedes the compound: *contrepoison*, 'ce (qui est) contre le poison'; *un sans-cœur*, 'un (qui est) sans cœur'; *l'enjeu* (stakes), 'ce (qui est) en jeu.'

When the compound denotes a person it takes the gender of the person: *un sans-cœur*, *une sans-dents*. When the compound denotes a thing it, similarly, takes the gender of the thing denoted but not expressed: *une averse* (downpour, shower), 'une (pluie) à verse.' Usually the word understood is neuter, and consequently the substantive is masculine: *l'enjeu*, 'ce qui est en jeu.' In the last case the masculine may give way to the feminine when the termination of the second component is feminine and when the compound has become a simple term in the mind: *affaire* (business), 'ce qui est à faire,' masculine in the Old language, feminine since the 17th century; *soucoupe* (saucer), 'ce qui est sous la coupe,' now feminine; *entre-côte*, masculine in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*, feminine in popular usage. (See Book II, § 158.)

This mode of composition is very fertile.

A. *Un acompte*, *acoup* (shock), *adieu*, *aplomb*, *à-propos*, *alout* (trump-card, played to any suit), *une averse*, *les alentours*; with an infinitive used as a substantive: *affaire*, *avenir*.

Après. *Après-midi*, *après-dîner*, *après-souper*. These nouns are etymologically masculine and became feminine under the influence of *après-dinée*, *après-soupée*.

Arrière. *Une arrière-main* (back of the hand, see p. 429), which must be distinguished from *un arrière-main* (crupper), where *arrière* is an adverb (§ 299).

Avant. *Loges d'avant-scène*, *un avant-scène*, masculine in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* of 1798, feminine since, under the influence of *loge*; *un avant-main* (fore-quarters of a horse) must be distinguished from *une avant-main*, where *avant* is an adverb (§ 299).

Chez. *Chez soi* (home).

Contre. *Contre-poison, contre-jour, contresens, contretemps, contrevent* (outside shutter), *à contre-cœur, à contre-poil.*

De. *Débonnaire*, adjective for *de bonne aire* (of good race, from the O.F. masculine substantive *aire*).

En. *Embonpoint, endroit, en-cas, en-tout-cas* (see p. 423, note 1), *enjeu, en-tête, entrain.*

Entre. *Entr'acte, entrecôte, entregent* (civility, and hence worldly address), *entreligne, entrefilet, entremets, entresol.* The objective of *entre* is in the singular; one might expect the plural, but here the singular is used to indicate the singular of the compound considered as a whole.

Ex. *Ex-roi, ex-juge.*

Hors, Hors. *Hors-d'œuvre*; O.F. *hors du sens* and *foréné*, whence *forcené* (madman, desperado).

Outre. *Outremer.*

Par. *Pardessus, parterre.*

Pour. *Pourboire.*

Sans. *Sans-cœur, sans-culotte, sans-dents, sans-façon, sans-gêne, sans-souci.*

Sous. *Sous-bois, sous-pied, sous-seing*¹, *en sous-œuvre, en sous-ordre, une soucoupe.*

Sur. *Surdos, surlendemain, surplis, surpoint, surtout* (overcoat; cf. overall).

299. SUBSTANTIVES COMPOUNDED OF AN ADVERB AND A SUBSTANTIVE (OR ADJECTIVE)².—(Type: *arrière-cour*.) Here the substantive is the subject of the adverb: *arrière-cour*, 'cour (qui est) en arrière.' The determinant here, as in the ancient languages, precedes the determinate.

Sometimes it happens that the subject does not represent the whole of the object denoted by the simple word, but, by synecdoche, only a part of it: *l'avant-bras* (*fore-*

¹ *Sous-seing* = the signature at the foot, in contrast with the sign-manual at the head of a document.

² [Compounds of this type formed with adjectives, though found in Latin, are rare in French: in *sous-garant, sous-lieutenant*, &c., the determinate was originally an adjective.]

arm), *l'arrière-bouche* (*pharynx*), do not mean 'le bras qui est en avant, la bouche qui est en arrière,' but 'la partie du bras qui est en avant, la partie de la bouche qui est en arrière.'

The gender of the compound is that of the substantive, as it is the substantive which is the subject of the proposition understood.

Arrière. *Arrière-ban, arrière-bouche, arrière-boutique, arrière-fief, arrière-garde, arrière-goût, arrière-neveu, arrière-pensée, arrière-port, arrière-saison.*

Avant. *Avant-bras, avant-corps, avant-coureur, avant-fort, avant-goût, une avant-main* (cf. § 298), *avant-poste, une avant-scène* (the proscenium, or part occupied by the actors in the classical theatre; cf. § 298), *avant-toit* (*eave*), *avant-train, &c.*

Com-, oon- (Lat. *cum*), an inseparable preposition occurring in some compounds of Gallo-Romanic formation: *compère, commère, confrère.*

Contre has here the various senses indicated on p. 419: *contre-épreuve* (*check-test*), 'épreuve contraire à une autre'; *contre-allée*, 'allée placée en face d'une autre.' Its compounds are numerous: *contre-accusation, contre-appel, contre-basse* or *basse-contre, contre-coup, contrescarpe, contre-indication, contre-ordre, contre-poids, contre-point, contre-seing, &c.*¹

Entre. *Entre-bât, entre-cour, entre-temps.*

Fors. *Fors bourg*, later *faubourg* (see p. 423).

Sous. *Sous-garant, sous-lieutenant, sous-locataire, sous-multiple, sous-préfet, sous-secrétaire.*

Sur. *Sur-arbitre, surpoids, sur-point.*

300. VERBS COMPOUNDED OF A SUBSTANTIVE AND A VERB OF WHICH IT IS THE DIRECT OR INDIRECT OBJECT.—(Type: *colporter*.) French possesses a small number of words of this kind.

(i) Infinitives: *billebarrer* (*to colour in stripes*), *bouleverser*

¹ [The English *counter* has kept on the whole the same meaning and the same ease of composition as *contre*.]

ser, *boursoufler* (to blow-out, froth up, a corruption of *boudesoufler*, containing *boude*, the radical of *boudin*), *chavirer* (capsize), *colporter*, *culbuter*, *maintenir*, *manœuvrer*, *morfondre* (= 'fondre par suite de la morve'), *saupoudrer* (to sprinkle, originally, with salt).

(ii) Participles: *Dieudonné* (Lat. *Deodatus* = God-given), *vermoulu* (worm-eaten).

301. COMPOUNDS THE FIRST COMPONENT OF WHICH IS A FINITE PART OF A VERB.—(Type: *portefeuille*.) This very living and popular type of composition has existed from the very earliest times of the language; it has continued active to the present day without any loss of its inexhaustible fertility, yielding thousands of compounds, including proper names of persons and places, names of things, and epithets.

The verbal element was originally an imperative in the second person singular; this we can prove by the following facts and examples¹:

(i) The mediaeval translations into Latin of French nouns of this kind without exception present the imperative, even as early as the 9th century: *Tenegaudia* (*porte-joie*), *Portapoma* (*porte-pommes*), *Portaflorem* (*porte-fleur*).

(ii) There exist French compounds in which the imperative is indisputable: *Jehan Boi l'iaue* (*eau*), *Martin Boivin*, *Martin olo mes œuls* (*yeux*), *Uquignon fai mi* (*me*) *boire*. In these examples, to which many more might be added, *boi*, *olo*, *fai*, are imperatives.

(iii) We find common nouns such as: *un ne m'oublies pas*, *un penses à moi*, *un revenez-y*, *un venez-y voir*, *un va t'en si tu peux* (name of a plaster, cf. *stich-fast*), *un entends-tu* (a 16th-century synonym of *equivoque*, or expression with two meanings), *une trousse-la-queue* (chambermaid, 16th century), *un ramasse-ton-bras* (*braggart*), *un rendez-vous*.

¹ For a full discussion of this point see the *Traité des Mots Composés*, 2nd edition, pp. 168-234.

(iv) The Low Latin words of this kind still in use are all imperatives: *vade-mecum* (*manual*), *fac-simile*, *factotum* (*manager*), *salva-nos* (*lifebuoy*), *nota-bene*.

(v) Other Romance languages, wherever they distinguish the 2nd person imperative from the 3rd person indicative, use unhesitatingly the former, not the latter, form. Span. *hazmereir* (*buffoon*, 'fais-moi-rire'), *dime y dirette* (*quarrel*, 'dis-moi et je te dirai'); Ital. *bevilacqua* (*abstainer*, 'bois-l'eau'), *mordigallina* (*chickweed*, *mourgeline* = 'mords, geline').

(vi) The German and English languages recognize this mode of composition and use the imperative. German: *bleibimhaus* (*stay-at-home*), *giebhand* (*hand-shake*, lit. *give-hand*); English: *breakfast*, *outpurse*, *pickpocket*, &c.

(vii) There exist French compounds which are obviously formed of an imperative and a vocative: the game *sautemouton*; the insect called *lisette* or *bêche-lisette*; the cat, *minaud* or *grippeminaud*; the bird called *martin* or *Bernard*, or *pêche-martin* or *pêche-Bernard*; the tool called *brequin* or *vire-brequin* (or *villebrequin* = *centre-bit*).

(viii) Finally, in compounds of this kind the object follows the verb. Now this construction, dating from the earliest periods of the language, necessarily implies that the verb was used in the imperative, because in the syntax of primitive French the object followed the verb in the imperative, but preceded it in the indicative.

Thus all these facts show beyond question that the verb-component is in the imperative.

But, as nine-tenths of the compounds of this class belong to the first conjugation, in which the 2nd person of the imperative is indistinguishable from the 3rd person of the present indicative, the original construction was lost sight of by the grammarians, who have regarded the verb as the present indicative.

Compounds of this kind were first formed as names of places or nicknames of persons: *Boileau*, 'drink water, as

much as you want'; *vaudenier, vaurien* (*good-for-nothing*), 'be worth a farthing, nothing at all.' Then this formation was found to be very convenient for creating common nouns and adjectives, and, the type once established, analogy went on ever creating new compounds whilst unconsciously using the indicative instead of the imperative. Still, whenever, apart from the formation by analogy, the language creates new compounds of this kind, it again clearly shows the imperative. This appears in the above examples of the imperative and in the following sentences: *un tiens-toi-bien* (*go-cart*), *un tâte-mes-poules* (applied in the Picard dialect ironically to a husband who meddles with household affairs; a *molly-coddle*), *un va-comme-je-te-pousse*, *un va-l'en-voir-s'ils-viennent*.

Starting from the primitive construction, the immense majority of these compounds may be divided into three categories according to the three persons of speech :

(i) The thing or person denoted speaks: *ne-m'oubliez-pas, marche-pied* (*step*).

(ii) The thing or person denoted is spoken to: *porte-monnaie*.

(iii) The thing or person denoted is spoken of: *revenez-y*.
Compounds of this kind are formed thus :

(i) By an imperative and a direct object: *porte-monnaie*.

(ii) By an imperative and an indirect object: *boute-en-train*.

(iii) By an imperative and an adverb: *passe-partout* (*master-key, latch-key*).

(iv) By an imperative and a vocative: *saute-mouton* (*leap-frog*).

(v) By two imperatives: *passe-passe* (*sleight of hand*).

Compounds of this kind are in essence adjectives: *la gent trotte-menu*¹. These adjectives may be used absolutely

¹ The *fine-trotting race*: La Fontaine's mock-heroic term for mice.

when applied to animated beings or things. They are masculine or feminine when they denote a male or a female; they are neuter, that is masculine, if applied to a thing. However, when the compound is formed by a verb and a vocative it takes the gender of the vocative: thus the name of the weevil that gnaws the vine, and is called *lisette* or *bêche-lisette*, is feminine.

As we have seen, compounds of this kind commenced by being nicknames and epithets, denoting persons and places. Then they became common nouns. At the time of the Renaissance, Ronsard introduced them in a new and original manner as epithets: *Jupiter lance-tonnerre*, *le soleil donne-vie*, *Hercule porte-massue*, &c. It is a pity that Ronsard's disciples, particularly Du Bartas, should by excess have discredited this poetical use. La Fontaine, and other authors, like Scarron, who wrote in the burlesque style, practised it in a discreet, ingenious, and picturesque fashion. It would be well could French poets again make use in lofty poetry of this class of epithets; for they may attain Homeric breadth. The popular language continues to use them extensively in the form of common nouns, and especially as names for all sorts of industrial products. In fine, this composition is eminently French; it belongs to the popular language, to that of arts and crafts, and to poetry. Its richness is inexhaustible; the problem is to utilize it.

302. IRREGULAR COMPOUNDS.—To bring this study of compounds to a close, we may cite some formations that are irregular, or of quite exceptional character:

(i) Compounds of free formation: *un coq-à-l'âne* (a cock-and-bull story), *un sauve-qui-peut*, *le qu'en-dira-t-on* (in English slang, *Mrs. Grundy*).

(ii) Compounds formed by the irregular fusion of the article with the initial vowel of a substantive: *l'endemain*, whence *le lendemain*; *l'vette*, whence *la luette* (*uvula*);

Pierre, whence *le pierre*; *l'ombril*, whence *le lombril* and later on *le nombril*; *l'évier* ('sink for water'), whence *le levier* in servants' language. [Cf. English *a newt* = *an evat* or *est*.] The following proper nouns have been formed in the same way: *Langlois*, *Lefèvre*, *Lejeune*, *Lévêque*, *Le-moine*, *Labbé*, *Laval*, *Lille*, &c.

(iii) Children's words: *bonbon*, *fanfan* (*enfant*), *nounou* (*nourrice*), *fifi* (*fil* or *fille*), *mimi* (*mère*), and without doubt the word *tante* from the Old French *ante*, the reduplication of which may have given *antante*, and hence, by apocope, *tante*.

(iv) Onomatopœia: *cricri* (*rattle*), *coucou*, *glouglou* (*gurgle*), *froufrou* (*rustle*, of silk, &c.), *ronron* (*purring*), &c.

(v) Substantives, adverbs, and interjections formed on the type of Germanic compounds, in which the vowels *i*, *a*, *o*, *ou*, occur in succession: *cric-crac*, *flic-flac*, *de bric et de broc*, *bric-à-brac*, *bredi-breda*, *patati-patata*, *pif-paf* (*bang*, of a firearm), *tic-tac*, *trictrac* (*backgammon*), *sigzag*, &c.

SECTION II.—*Popular Derivation.*

303. *Dérivation.*

- I. IMPROPER DERIVATION (WITHOUT SUFFIXES).—304. Improper derivation.—305. Adjectives.—306. Substantives.—307. Pronouns.—308. Verbs.—309. Indeclinable words.
- II. PROPER DERIVATION (WITH SUFFIXES).—310. Proper derivation.—311. Significations of suffixes.—312. Forms of suffixes.—313. Inter-calculation of suffixes.—314. Alteration of suffixes.—315. Noun-suffixes formed of vowels.—316. Noun-suffixes containing simple consonants.—317. Noun-suffixes containing double consonants or consonant-groups.—318. Verb-suffixes.

303. DERIVATION.—The second process used by the language to extend its vocabulary consists in derivation. The latter is called proper or improper, according as it has recourse to suffixes or not.

I. Improper Derivation (without Suffixes).

304. IMPROPER DERIVATION.—Improper derivation forms new words from previously existing words, either (1) by simply changing the function of the latter without any external modification, as when the substantive *rose* becomes the adjective *rose*; or (2) by taking only the radical of existing words, as when the radical of *appeler* gives the word *appel*.

Each of the various parts of speech may give rise to various series of words.

305. ADJECTIVES.—(i) An adjective becomes a substantive naturally by the ellipsis of the noun that it qualifies: *un sage*, that is *un (homme) sage*; *une bonne*, that is *une (servante) bonne*, in the sense of 'useful'; *une capitale*, that is *une (ville) capitale* or *une (lettre) capitale*; *un journal*, that is *un (papier) journal*¹; *un périodique*, that is *un (journal) périodique*, &c.

An adjective may also be used absolutely as a substantive; it is then a logical neuter, and takes the masculine: *le beau*, *le vrai* (*the true, the beautiful*), that is *ce qui est beau*, *ce qui est vrai*. But it is used in the same manner in the feminine in adverbial phrases such as: *à la française*, *à la légère*, *à la ronde*, &c.

Lastly, an adjective may also become a substantive (masculine or feminine) by unconscious personification of the object denoted; this is especially the case with numerous adjectives ending in *-eur*, *-euse*, used as denominations in the vocabulary of arts and crafts: *un condensateur*, *une faucheuse*, *une mitrailleuse*, *un ventilateur*, &c.

¹ [But see 'Bonne' in *Dict. Gén. de la Langue Fr.*, by Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas, according to which 'the substantive use has gradually emerged from the expression "ma bonne," a friendly address used especially by children.']

² *Journal* (Lat. *diurnalem*) = 'daily.'

(ii) An adjective becomes an adverb when it qualifies a verb : *frapper fort, chanter juste, voir clair*.

(iii) An adjective may become an interjection : *bon ! las ! hélas ! ferme !*

306. SUBSTANTIVES.—I. *Proper nouns*. Proper nouns are changed into common nouns by various processes :

(i) The names of authors and inventors pass to their books or inventions : *barème, calepin, dédale, guillemet, lebel, quinquet, rigolot, ruols, &c.* Here also belong the names of certain coins : *carolus, louis, napoléon, &c.*

(ii) The names of celebrated people in history and literature are used to indicate characters, virtues, or vices, or may be applied to certain objects, as in : *agnès, amphitryon (host)¹, assassin, atlas, céladon, chauvin, escobar, espiègle* (from the legendary German rogue *Till Eulenspiegel*), *harpagon, ladre, lovelace, machiavel, méphistophèles, pathelin, phaéton, prud'homme, renard, séide, sganarelle, tartufe, &c.*

(iii) Certain Christian names have become common nouns of unfavourable signification : *un benêt, un claudé, un jeanjean, un jeannot, un nicaise, un nicodème², une péronnelle (hussy, from Petronella) &c.*

(iv) Names of persons or places have been given by the whims of fashion to certain objects : *un châteaubriand (beefsteak), un mazagran (cup of black coffee), une silhouette, une victoria, &c.*

(v) Names of places have passed to the objects which are produced or manufactured there : *alençon, bougie, bordeaux, cachemire, calicot, canari, cognac, curaçao, elbeuf, faïence (Ital. Faenza), (cheval de) frise, guinée, gruyère, malines, mousseline (from Mosul), tulle, &c.*

(vi) Ethnical names have been taken in a general sense,

¹ From Sosie's declaration in Molière's play : ' Le véritable Amphitryon est l'Amphitryon où l'on dîne.'

² The foregoing are equivalent to the English *dolt, booby, &c.*

mostly unfavourable : *arabe, bohémien, cannibale, esclave, flandrin, gascon, grec, iroquois, jésuite, juif, ostrogoth, turc, vandale, wisigoth, &c.* Names of this kind are given to animals or objects : *basque, bavaroise, épagneul, gavotte, hermine, hongre, indienne, maroquin, persienne, pêche, &c.*

(vii) Proper names of persons have been given jestingly to animals : *bernard-l'ermite (hermit-crab), jacquot (poll-parrot), margot (magpie), martin, martinet, pierrot (sparrow)*¹, &c.

II. *Common nouns.*—(i) Common nouns form new common nouns (a) by a change of gender : *un garde, une garde* ; (b) by a change of sense : *bureau, 'éttoffe de bure,'* coarse woollen cloth, hence, a work-table covered with this stuff, &c. ; (c) by a change of both gender and sense : *la loutre (otter), un loutre (an otter-skin, seal-skin, &c., garment)* ; *la pailleasse, un pailleasse* ; *le pendule, la pendule* ; *le triomphe, la triomphe* ; *la trompette, un trompette, &c.* (See Book II, p. 243.)

(ii) Common nouns become adjectives by apposition : *le prophète, le roi-prophète* ; *la violette, la couleur violette* ; *le violet, le rayon violet* ; *la rose, un ruban rose*. Thus we have on the one hand more or less popular or familiar adjectives taken from common nouns : *canaille, crâne, drôle, fanfaron, farce, ganache, espiègle, ladre* (the two last being originally proper names, *Eulenspiegel* and *Lazarus*) ; on the other hand, adjectives of colour : *châtain, indigo, lilas, mauve, rose, violet, &c.*, which never take the feminine termination, though they take the *s* of the plural. (See Syntax, § 372.)

Nouns in *-eur, -euse*, fluctuate between the status of substantive and adjective : *libérateur, rêveur, tentateur, travailleur, trembleur, vainqueur, vendeur*. They may be

¹ For all these common nouns and their relations with the proper names from which they are derived, see *Dict. Gén. de la Langue Fr.* by Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas.

considered at will (1) when they have the function of substantives, either as substantives or as adjectives taken absolutely; or (2) when they have the function of adjectives, either as adjectives or as substantives used adjectivally by apposition.

(iii) A common noun may become an interjection: *dame! paix! silence!*

307. PRONOUNS.—The only pronoun to be noted is the personal pronoun *moi*, which has become a substantive in *le moi*, *le non-moi* (the *Ego*, the *non-Ego*). We may also mention here the numerals which may be used as substantives: *le chef des onze*, *les douzièmes provisoires*.

308. VERBS.—The following parts of the verb must be considered in this connexion: the present and past participles, the infinitive, the imperative, and the present indicative.

I. *Present participle*.—(i) The present participle, expressing either the quality or property of the verbal action, is transformed into an adjective with the greatest ease; and the adjective in its turn may be changed into a substantive. Thus we have referring to persons: *suppliant*, *une personne suppliante*, *un suppliant*; *extravagant*, *des gens extravagants*, *des extravagants*; and so also *une aspirante*, *un conquérant*, *les débutants*, *un émigrant*, *une mendicante*, *les protestants*, *une servante*, and referring to things: *une variante*, *une consonnante*, *un dormant* (*frame*), *un mordant*, *une roulante* (*chair on castors*), *un stimulant*, *les tenants*, and *les aboutissants*.

We may also note a curious formation of masculine substantives expressing the abstract idea of the verbal action: *le levant*, *le couchant*¹. Here the present participle has

¹ Not the subject, *ce qui se lève, se couche*, but the action, *se lever, se coucher*, and, by extension, the place of the action, *where the sun rises, or sets, se lève, se couche*, i.e. 'the east,' 'the west.'

almost the function of the English present participle or gerund in *evening*.

(ii) The present participle is easily turned into a preposition : *concernant, durant, pendant, touchant, &c.*

II. *Past participle*.—(i) The past participles of verbs expressing an immediate or instantaneous action readily become adjectives, and the latter in turn as readily become substantives. These substantives may denote persons : *les assiégés, un associé, un étourdi, une fiancée, une mariée, &c.* They may also denote objects ; in which case they express either (1) the result of verbal action : *un dit, un écrit, un fait*, that is, 'ce qui a été dit, écrit, fait' (*a saying, a writing, a deed*) ; or (2) the abstract verbal action itself : *le prononcé d'un jugement*, that is, 'the action of pronouncing or pronouncement' ; *l'énoncé des faits*, that is, 'the action of enouncing or enunciation.' This double function of the participle used substantively already existed in Latin, and in this French only continues the Latin tradition.

Participles thus employed are either masculine or feminine in form, sometimes owing to the ellipsis of a masculine or feminine substantive understood, sometimes without : *une armée*, that is, 'une troupe armée' ; *un résumé*, that is, 'ce qui a été résumé' ; *une tranchée*, that is, 'ce qui a été tranché.'

The abstract signification is as frequent as the concrete : *vendre à la criée* (*to sell by public auction*), that is, 'à l'action de crier' ; *une chevauchée* (*a ride, obs.*), that is, 'l'action de chevaucher.' Past participles taken from intransitive verbs exchange their past signification for the present when used in the concrete or abstract : *une montée*, that is, 'ce que l'on monte,' or 'action de monter' [just as the approximate English equivalent *ascent* means 'what is ascended' or 'the act of ascending'] ; *allée*, 'the way you go' or 'the action of going' ; *issue*, 'the way you go out, exit.'

This formation of substantives from the past participle, otherwise called **participial substantives**, is of extraordinary richness and inexhaustible activity.

We have seen (Book II, § 250) how frequent it was during the Middle Ages, and how many of the 'strong' past participles, though replaced in the conjugation of the verb by the 'weak' form, have been preserved in Modern French as substantives, some masculine, but the majority feminine: *masc. cours, mets, mors, poids*; *fem. course, dette, élite, messe, perle, poste, quôte, recette, rente, route, toise, vente, &c.*

We saw also that these strong participles might exist in two forms, now represented by two different substantives: *poste* and *ponte*, *toise* and *tente*, &c. Weak participles have also contributed to the formation of substantives, especially during the last hundred years: *cliché, communiqué, émigré, fédéré, insurgé, rendu, &c.* These participial substantives of recent formation are generally masculine; a very small number are feminine. The popular language, on the contrary, continues the process of the Old language by the daily creation of new feminine participial substantives: *une brossée* (brush with an enemy), *une dégelée, une peignée, &c.*

(ii) The past participle readily becomes a preposition: *excepté, hormis, &c.*

III. *Imperative*.—(i) The imperative gives both substantives and adjectives, but mostly by means of composition (§ 301). We rarely find isolated imperatives save as nautical terms: *aborde, accoste, &c.*, which are orders *to board, come alongside, &c.*

(ii) The imperative gives a few interjections: *tiens! c'est vous* (not *tenes! c'est vous*); *da* (in *oui-dà*), contraction of *dea* or *dia*, O. F. *diva*, from *dis* and *va*; *voyons, va, allons*; *gare, aga*, which was still in use in the 17th century for *agare* (from *agarer, to look at*).

IV. *Infinitive*.—In Old French the infinitive was used

as a substantive, in which case it was mostly accompanied by the article; and this usage was preserved until the 16th century. But from that time the language had become too analytical longer to tolerate this construction, in which the same term was used to denote both the substantive and the verbal action. La Fontaine, inspired by the language of the 16th century, still uses : *vendre le dormir* (to sell sleep); but it was an archaism, and notwithstanding the endeavours of certain writers of the 18th and 19th centuries the construction has been lost.

Thus the Modern language still contains substantives formerly taken from infinitives, but no longer possesses the power retained by other sister languages of using the infinitives of all verbs as substantives. Where Italian uses *al pentirsi*, 'le se repentir,' French uses *le repentir*. In the annexed list of substantives taken from infinitives it is only by reflection that we recognize their verbal origin: *un avoir, le baiser, le boire, des déboires, des déjeuners, des devoirs, des dîners, les dire, les êtres, le faire, le goûter, des loisirs, le manger, un manoir, des pensers, un plaidoyer, un plaisir, des pourparlers, un pouvoir, le repentir, le rire, le savoir, un souper, le sourire, un souvenir, des viures, un mauvais vouloir, &c.*

V. *Present indicative*.—French, like other Romance languages, has inherited from Latin the power of making nouns (substantives, and sometimes adjectives) from the radical of a verb as presented in the present indicative singular. These derivatives mostly come from verbs of the first conjugation, and are generally feminine when they end with an e mute :

Masc. aboyer	j'aboie	<i>un aboi</i>
accorder	j'accorde	<i>un accord</i>
acheter (O. F.)	j'achate	<i>un achat</i>
affronter	j'affronte	<i>un affront</i>
amasser	j'amasse	<i>un amas</i>
	G g 2	

Masc.	appeler	j'appelle	un appel
(cont.)	apporter	j'apporte	un apport
	arrêter	j'arrête	un arrêt
	blâmer	je blâme	un blâme
	bute	je bute	un but
	cligner	je cligne	un clin
	compasser	je compasse	un compas
	compter	je compte	un compte
	coûter	je coûte	un coût
	crier	je crie	un cri
	débourser	je débourse	un débours
	décorer	je décore	un décor
	dédaigner	je dédaigne	un dédain
	dégouter	je dégoûte	un dégoût
	délayer	je délay (O. F.)	un délai
	départir	je déparz (O. F.)	un départ
		= je départs	
	emprunter	j'emprunte	un emprunt
	flotter	je flotte	un flot
	jeter	je jette	un jet
	manquer	je manque	un manque
	mépriser	je méprise	un mépris
	pardonner	je pardonne	un pardon
	prêter	je prête	un prêt
Fem.	adresser	j'adresse	une adresse
	aider	j'aide	une aide
	allonger	j'allonge	une allonge
	appliquer	j'applique	une applique
	approcher	j'approche	une approche
	cacher	je cache	une cache
	cesser	je cesse	une cesse
	commander	je commande	une commande
	conserver	je conserve	une conserve
	coucher	je couche	une couche
	cueillir	je cueille	une cueille

dépêcher	je dépêche	<i>une dépêche</i>
dépenser	je dépense	<i>une dépense</i>
dépouiller	je dépouille	<i>une dépouille</i>
détremper	je détrempe	<i>une détrempe</i>
disputer	je dispute	<i>une dispute</i>
écouter	j'écoute	<i>les écoutes</i>
élever	j'élève	<i>une élève</i>
enclaver	j'enclave	<i>une enclave</i>
épouvanter	j'épouvante	<i>une épouvante</i>
excuser	j'excuse	<i>une excuse</i>
fatiguer	je fatigue	<i>une fatigue</i>
fouler	je foule	<i>une foule</i>
gouverner	je gouverne	<i>une gouverne</i>
montrer	je montre	<i>une montre</i>

Note the following verbs :

relever	je relief (O. F.)	<i>un relief</i>
maintenir	je maintien „	<i>un maintien</i>
soutenir	je soutien „	<i>un soutien</i>
espérer	j'espère „	<i>un espoir</i>

It is on the ground of these last forms, and certain other analogous ones where the substantive corresponds to the present indicative of the Old language, that we take the view that the verb radical in all the other substantives quoted is that of the present indicative.

This formation is still very living and very fertile, especially in the popular speech.

309. INDECLINABLE WORDS.—The adverb may easily become a preposition, and the preposition an adverb ; the adverb may also become a conjunction (Book II, § 256). All three, as well as the interjection, may become substantives : *le dedans, le dehors, le dessus, le dessous, le pour, le contre, les si, les que, un holà, des ho, des ah, un haha, &c.*

Thus all the parts of speech may exchange their functions by improper derivation. The most fertile formations are those that change the adjective, the past participle, and the present indicative into substantives.

II. Proper Derivation (with Suffixes).

310. **PROPER DERIVATION.**—Proper derivation creates new words by adding special syllables called **suffixes** to the radicals of existing words.

This formation is of great fertility, especially as compared with the poverty of suffix-formation that characterizes the Germanic languages.

French possesses, or has possessed, more than a hundred different suffixes, belonging to either the Popular or the Learned language: some lived in the earlier periods and have died out; others have been created during the growth of the language and are still flourishing; others, again, have survived through the whole epoch of fourteen centuries, without losing any of their primitive energy.

The form of a suffix has often changed in consequence of changes in pronunciation: often, again, the sense has changed in the lapse of time, and many a suffix has no longer at the present day the same signification as in Old French.

Suffixes are not individual, isolated words, each expressing either an idea or an image proper to itself: they are general expressions or formulas of abstract notions, which the language detaches from the words in which they are to be found, and joins on to other words of analogous form, so as to extend the significance of these in varying degree. Thus the suffix *-esse* existed in Latin, under the form of *-itia*, in such words as *largitia*, which became in French *largesse*, and this syllable *-esse* was added to the radicals of other adjectives: *faibl-esse*, *rud-esse*, *sag-esse*, &c. The suffix *-age* existed in Latin, in the form of *-aticum*, in a certain number of words like *silvaticum*, which became in French *sauvage*, and *viaticum*, which became *voyage*; this syllable was added in the same manner in French to a great number of other radicals: *blanchiss-age*, *charbonn-age*, *feuill-age*, *lav-age*, *plum-age*.

Thus was extended the use of these terminations, which might in a sense be called 'words,' as expressing ideas; but which are not true words, since they do not exist in an isolated state, but are always added to other words.

311. SIGNIFICATIONS OF SUFFIXES.—I. In order that a suffix should be living and able to give rise to new words, *it is necessary and sufficient* that the suffix, as well as its conjoined radical, should awaken a clear idea in the mind. If neither the radical nor the suffix awakens this clear idea, the derivative has absorbed the suffix. Thus in *vitrail*, where the suffix *-ail* is no longer perceptible; in *taureau*, where the radical is no longer recognizable; in *soleil*, where neither radical nor suffix is now apparent, the derived word has become a simple word, there is unity of image. On the contrary, in *herb-elle*, *poliss-oire*, *sag-esse*, the radical on the one hand, and the suffix on the other, stand out in bold relief: the image is divisible, and the suffix, preserving its complete value, may be joined to other radicals and thus produce new creations when needed.

II. The suffix may (1) convey the abstract notion of an object: *éteign-oir*, *gratt-oir* (*extinguisher*, *scraper*); or (2) of a physical or moral quality: *roug-eur*, *verd-eur*, *just-esse*, *sag-esse*, *ancienne-té* (*redness*, *justice*, &c.); (3) it may express a verbal action or its result: *blanchiss-age*, *lav-age*, *ameubl-ement*, *attroup-ement*, *chang-ement* (*washing* [the action], *furniture*, *gathering*, &c.); (4) it may express a collective notion: *ferraille* (*old iron*), *limaille* (*filings*); (5) it may express a depreciatory or pejorative idea: *bav-ard*, *commun-ard*; (6) it may denote a person or an object and serve as a diminutive: *fill-ette*, *mouch-eron* (*midge*), *flamme-erole* (*will-o'-the-wisp*), *ail-eron*. French has hardly known, and no longer possesses, augmentative suffixes, which are so numerous in both Italian and Spanish.

III. The signification of suffixes has not in all cases been constant; many a suffix conveys an abstract notion,

which is quite different from that belonging to it formerly: it has really become a new suffix by assuming a new function. Thus the suffix *-age* in Old French once expressed a collective idea: *charbonn-age*, *feuill-age*, *plum-age*; and has still that function in some ancient words which have been preserved in the Modern language. At the present time *-age* expresses the action of the verb: *blanchiss-age*, *lav-age*. The suffix *-aille* indicated originally a collective notion; at the present day it expresses a pejorative idea: *radic-aille* (*radical mob*), *valet-aille* (*pack of servants*). The suffix *-asse*, which had once no very clear signification, has now assumed a pejorative one: *fad-asse* (*unpleasantly insipid*), *lav-asse* (*dish-water, over dilute beverage*), *paper-asse* (*useless papers*).

Whence do these changes arise? They are no doubt due to the action of certain derivatives formed with these suffixes, in which some special idea originally expressed by the radical itself has been transferred to the suffix: thus in *chiennaille* (Mod. F. *canaille*), an ancient synonym of *meute*, 'pack of hounds,' the unpleasant idea evoked by the radical *chien* affected the suffix, first in the word *chiennaille*, and then in the new derivatives in *-aille*. The suffix *-asse* in *bestiasse* (originally *a beast*, and hence *a stupid person*) acquired an unpleasant notion from its radical, destined to affect thenceforth every new word in *-asse*.

312. FORMS OF SUFFIXES.—(i) Gallo-Romanic suffixes consist without exception of one or more accented syllables.

Latin, like Greek, German, and English, possessed atonic suffixes. But these atonic suffixes, in passing from Latin to French, of necessity disappeared; or, if they were preserved, took a *tempus forte*. The Latin *vin-ŕa*, derived from *vinum*, *vin*, became the French *vigne*; the Latin *frīg-ŕdum*, **frīg-ŕdum*, has become, it is true, the French *froid*; and the Latin *pŕr-ŕla*, *pŕ-ŕa*, have become the French *perle*, *ois*. But the suffixes *-ŕa*, *-ŕdu*, *-ŕla*, *-ŕa*,

have not formed any new words in French, and have been lost as suffixes, because they were not accented. On the other hand, the Latin suffix *-ia*, although atonic in Latin, has become the French suffix *-ie*, because in French it took the *tempus forte*: *-ia*. The suffix *-ulus*, also atonic in Latin, acquired a *tempus forte*, and became *-eul*, *-eul*, or *-ol*.

(ii) The suffixes are divisible into classes, each generally added only to radicals of one and the same kind. Thus *-oir* is added to the radicals of verbs: *grattoir*, *poussoir*; *-ise* to the radicals of adjectives: *gaillard-ise*, *lourd-ise*; *-eur* to the radicals of adjectives: *grand-eur*, *haut-eur*, *larg-eur*; *-able* to the radicals of verbs: *aim-able*, *lou-able*.

However, extensions arising by analogy through the action of the derivatives have caused some confusion: for although *raisonnable* comes from *raisonner*, or rather from *raisonn-*, the radical of the verb, it is decomposed into *raison* + *-able*, and on this type have been formed: *charitable*, *équitable*, *vérable*, in which the radicals are those of substantives.

Confusion may occur in other ways. In *factage* we do not recognize the radical either of a verb or of a substantive: this word must therefore be due to another kind of analogy. *Blanchissage* and *lavage*, as well as *blanchisseur* and *laveur*, come from *blanchir* and *laver*. Now, the number of verbs which thus give regular derivatives in both *-eur* and *-age* is considerable enough for the two suffixes *-eur* and *-age* to have been brought together and associated, and thus *fact-age* (*distribution of parcels*, &c.) is due to the existence of *fact-eur* (*carrier*, *porter*, and, later, *postman*).

(iii) By virtue of analogical extensions the suffixes of the 1st conjugation have replaced those corresponding to the other conjugations. The verbs of the 1st Latin conjugation gave derivatives in *-abilis*: *amare*, *amabilis*; those of other conjugations gave derivatives in *-ibilis*: *credere*, *credibilis*.

In French we have: *aimer, aimable*; but *croire*, instead of giving the derivative *croisible*, gives *crovable*.

In fact between the 6th and the 8th centuries a great action of analogy took place, which recast most suffixes of the other conjugations on the pattern of those of the 1st. The same action also affected the present participles and gerunds of all verbs, so that we may consider the new derivatives as taken from the verb radical as it occurs in the present participle. The suffixes whose use was thus extended by this analogy were: *-able, -abilem*; *-ement, -amentum*; *-eur, -atorem*; *-is, -atium*; *-ure, -atura*; *-oir, -atrium*.

Thus *facere, faire*, gives in Latin the derivative *factorem*, which has become *fauteur* in *bienfauteur, malfauteur*; the language has, however, created a new verbal substantive from the French form of the present participle: *faisant, fais-eur*. It is the same with *légere, lire*, which gave the Latin *lector*; if *lector* had passed into French it would have become *liteur*, but this word was discarded and replaced by the new derivative *liseur*, derived from the radical found in *lisant*. In the same way *gémir* has given *gémissement* through *gémissant*; *meurtrir, meurtrissure* through *meurtrissant*; *bruni, brunissoir* through *brunissant*—just as *connaître* has given *connaissable* through *connaissant*.

(iv) Certain suffixes have become modified in form, in course of time, under the general action of phonetic laws. Thus the Latin suffix *-atorem* passed through *-ador* (11th century), *-eor* (12th), *-eur* (13th), into *-eur* (end of 14th).

The Latin suffix *-atura* passed through *-adure* (11th century), *-aûre, -êure* (12th), into *-ure* (end of 14th).

The suffix *-atium* passed through *-adis* (11th century), *-ais, -eis* (12th), *-is* (13th), into *-is* (end of 14th).

The suffix *-atrium* passed through *-adoir* (11th century), *-aoir, -eoir* (12th), into *-oir* (end of the 14th).

Radicals, like suffixes, changed in form under the action of the same phonetic laws; hence, in certain cases the final of the same word was different at different periods, and the word has yielded more than one derivative with a single suffix. The word which is now pronounced *tour* (the masculine substantive) was in Popular Latin *tōrnum*, which first became the Old French *tōrn*; and, later on, *torn* lost its final *n*, and gave *tōr*, *tour*. In the form of *torn*, with the verbal suffix *-er*, this word gave the verb *entorner*, which has become *entourner*; in the form *tour* it has given the verb *entourer* with the same suffix. So *jorn*, from the Latin *diurnum*, gave *journée*, *journal*, *ajourner*; later on *jour* gave *ajouré*. The Old French *brebisette* dates from the time when the *s* of *brebis* was pronounced; *brebiele* from the time when it was no longer pronounced. *Bourgeois* is traceable to a period when the *g* of *bourg* was heard; *faubourien* belongs to a period when the *g* in *faubourg* had become silent. In this way many derivatives bear on their faces the relative dates of their formation.

(v) We must also bear in mind the law of alternation in the nature of the vowel in a French syllable, according as it was originally accented or atonic (Book I, § 59). Many a Latin radical had its vowel accented in a simple word, and this has been modified according to the phonetic laws that govern accented vowels; while in the derivative the same vowel was atonic, and it has been preserved intact or modified according to the phonetic laws that govern atonic vowels; thus:

<i>māre</i>	becomes	<i>mer</i>	<i>marĭnum</i>	<i>marin</i>
<i>pētra</i>	"	<i>pierre</i>	<i>petrōnem</i>	<i>perron</i>
<i>pĭlum</i>	"	<i>poil</i>	<i>pilōsum</i>	<i>pelos</i> (O. F.)
			<i>pilōsam</i>	<i>pelouse</i>
<i>nōvum</i>	"	<i>neuf</i>	<i>novĕllum</i>	<i>nouveau</i>
<i>dolōrem</i>	"	<i>douleur</i>	<i>dolorōsum</i>	<i>douloureux</i>
<i>gŭla</i>	"	<i>gueule</i>	<i>gulōsum</i>	<i>gouleux, goulx</i>

We shall have frequent occasion to recall this law. We must, however, notice that it is far from being uniformly followed. The influence of analogy has in many cases led to the adoption of the same form in the derivative and in the simple word. Thus we already find in Old French *fierté* for *ferté* (due to *fier*), *hoirie* (due to *hoir*), *croyance* (due to *croire* as well as *créance*), *piélon* (due to *pied*), instead of the forms the phonetic laws would lead us to expect. We may notice in the same way the spelling *grainetier* (due to *graine*), instead of the regular spelling *grénétier*.

313. INTERCALATION OF SUFFIXES.—It often happens that between the radical and the final suffix other suffixes are intercalated, as in: *chambrillon*, *gantelet*, *pelletier*, *roitelet*. Between *chambr-* and *-on* the suffix *-ill-* is intercalated; between *roi-* and *-et* the suffixes *-t-* (for *et*) and *-el-*: *roi-et-el-et*, *roi-t-el-et*.

Sometimes the intercalation is only apparent, and in reality there have been successive additions and no intercalation of suffixes. Thus *roi* first became *roiet* (still used as a proper name); then *roiet* became *roielet*, which was reduced to *roitel*, and finally *roitel* was lengthened to *roitelet*.

Sometimes the intercalation is real. *Chambre* gave *chambrillon*; *gant*, *gantelet*; *peau*, *pelletier*—without passing through intermediate words *chambrille*, *gantel*, *pellet*, formed with the secondary suffixes *-ille*, *-el*, *-et*, which, though they exist independently, merely serve here as links between the radicals and the suffixes *-on*, *-et*, *-ier*. The intercalation of these suffixes is due in most cases to the difficulty felt by the tongue in adding a suffix beginning with a vowel to a radical ending either with a vowel, pure or nasal, or with a consonant dropped in pronunciation. Take the words *bijou*, *écu*: it would be difficult to add to these the suffixes *-ier* and *-on* respectively; and we find as derivatives with these suffixes *bijou-t-ier*, *écu-ss-on*. Take again *chaux*, of which the *x* has dropped in pronunciation;

it has yielded similarly *chau-l-er* (to lime) and *échau-d-er* (to limewash)¹.

Among such intercalations we may especially note the following:—

(a) *Intercalation of r*.—This is very frequent. The syllables *-on*, *-eau*, *-ol*, have been lengthened into *-eron*, *-ereau*, *-erol*, in *puceron*, *poêlereau*, *fêverole*, &c., owing to a false analogy. Many words in *-ier* (and *-eur*) formed diminutives in *-on* and *-eau*: *berger*, *bergeron*; *vacher*, *vacheron*; *voleur*, *volereau*, &c.; and probably technical names like *forgeron*, *marneron*, *tâcheron*, *vigneron*, to which no corresponding simple words are known, have a like origin. Now in course of time, instead of connecting *forgeron* with *forgeur*, *volereau* with *voleur*, the people came to connect them with *forge* and *vol*, and so to imagine the existence of the suffixes *-eron*, *-ereau*; and thus were formed *puceron*, *moucheron*, *laideron*, &c., from *puce*, *mouche*, *laid*. *-Eron* and *-ereau* then led to the use of *-erol* for *-ol*. We have an exactly parallel formation in the case of *-erie*, which has replaced *-ie* in many words formed from a false analogy with *bonneterie*, *chevalerie*, which are themselves regularly derived from *bonnetier*, *chevalier* (see § 315).

(b) *Intercalation of t*.—The intercalation of a *t* in *abriter*, *agioter*, *bijoutier*, *caillouter*, *cafetier*, *ferblantier*, *papetier*, &c. (derived from *abri*, *agio*, *bijou*, *caillou*, *café*, *ferblanc*, *papier*), has similarly for its starting-point the existence of derivatives in which the *t* really belongs to the radical, but is not sounded in the simple word, e.g. *laitier*, *lailerie*, *lailage*, *ébruiter*, *crocheteur* (from *lait*, *bruit*, *crochet*), &c. These words suggested the existence of suffixes, *-tier*, *-lerie*, *-lage*, *-ter*, *-teur*, and these forms, especially since the 17th century, have been added to radicals ending in a vowel, pure or nasal. It is owing to this fact that substantives in *-eau* no longer yield verbs in *-eler*, but verbs in *-auter*. Thus from *peau* we have the old verb *peler*, the modern *dépeauter*;

¹ [Distinguish from *échauder*, to scald, derived from *chaud*.]

biseauter, *tableauter*, are formed in the same way. Old derivatives formed regularly have been transformed so as to resemble the new model: *abrier* has become *abriter*; *fermure*, *fermeture*; *tabaquière*, *tabatière*, &c.

(c) *Intercalation of other consonants*: -g- or -ss- in *écoincer* (from *coin*), *courçon* (*court*), *écusson* (*écu*); -ill- in *chambrillon* (*chambre*), *cotillon* (*cotte*); -l- in *chauler* (*chaux*); -ll- in *épillet* (*épi*); -d- in *échauder* (*chaux*); -v- in *amadouvier* (*amadou*); -iq- in *tourniquet* (*tourner*), &c.—Transformations of this kind are capable of yielding an unlimited number of new words, and hence are a great source of wealth to the language.

314. ALTERATION OF SUFFIXES.—In some cases the suffix is sufficiently distinct from the radical to be liable to independent transformation, and hence it has been modified, or replaced by other suffixes more or less related to it. Changes of this kind may be classed as follows:—

(a) *Phonetic changes*.—(i) *Poitral*, *frontal*, have been replaced by *poitrail*, *frontail*. (ii) The final *r* having ceased to be pronounced at a certain period, the suffix *-eux* was confused with the suffix *-eur*; hence the forms *fauchoux*, *gâteux*, *hasardeux*, for *faucheur*, *gâteur*, *hasardeur* (see p. 479). (iii) The suffix *-en* was similarly confused with *-an* in *brelan*, *chambellan*, *cormoran*, and with *-and* in *tisserand*.

(b) *Changes to homonymous forms*.—Of these the examples are innumerable. We may quote *dalleau* for *dallot*, *chafaud* for *chafaut*, *marchand* and *chaland* for *marchant* and *chalant*, *civet* for *civè*, *homard* for *homar*, &c.

(c) *Changes of one suffix for another of identical signification*.—The diminutive suffixes are constantly interchanged: *agrouette* has been substituted for *agrouelle*, *gargoter* for *gargater*, *loriot* for *loriol*, *maillot* for *maillol*, *ouaille* for *oueuille*, *corneille* for *cornille*, &c. This elasticity in the use

of suffixes is found in Old French, in which the alternative forms *amerte*, *amertor*, *amertume*; *aspresse*, *aspror*, *asprelé*; &c., were employed indifferently.

(d) *Changes due to the influence of words cognate in form or sense.*—*Plural* was changed into *pluriel* under the influence of *singulier*; *escargol* into *escargot* under the influence of *escarbot*.

315. NOUN-SUFFIXES FORMED OF VOWELS.—Suffixes¹ may be classified into *noun-suffixes*, which form nouns, both substantive and adjective; and *verb-suffixes*, which form verbs. The former, which are very numerous, may be subdivided into *suffixes formed of vowels*, *suffixes containing simple consonants*, and *suffixes containing double consonants*, or *consonant-groups*.

-IA. Of all the atonic Latin suffixes formed of vowels: *-ūs*, *-ā*, *-ūm*; *-ūs*, *-ia*, *-um*; *-ūs*, *-ia*, *-um*, one only, *-ia*, has passed into French, by becoming accented, *-ia*, and has given *-ie*².

This suffix *-ie* combined in the Old language with substantives denoting persons, or with adjectives, the resultant originally expressing a state of existence or quality: *chevalier*, *chevalier-ie*; *courtois*, *courtois-ie*; *fol*, *fol-ie*; *garant*,

¹ In this study we omit those Latin suffixes which, for want of giving new derivatives, have been lost in the modern language. They are, however, sometimes represented in words handed down from the Latin; but, in these cases, although the suffix existed as such in the mother language, the words are taken as simple in French. Thus *-oem* in *verve oem*, *orbis*; *-amen*, *-imen*, in *examen*, *essaim*; *nutrimen*, *nourrain*.

² *-ia* could only become *-ia* under the influence of the Greek suffix *-ia* (*ia*), which was accented, and was confused with the Latin suffix. However, it was only in Popular Latin that it served to form new words. The ancient words in *-ia* preserved the atonic Latin *i*: *fortia* gave *force*. The distinction between the ancient and the new words is especially obvious in proper names: we have *Bretagne* from *Britannia*, *France* from *Francia*; but *Bulgarie*, *Normandie*, *Picardie*, these words being of later date than the 7th century, that is, than the period when the Latin suffix *-ia* came under the influence of the Greek suffix of the same form.

garant-ie; jaloux, jalous-ie; libraire, librain-ie; maire, mair-ie; malade, malad-ie; vilain, vilen-ie.

In a certain number of words it was preceded by the syllable *-ier*, which from the 14th to the 16th century was reduced to *-er* in words in *-chier* and *-gier* (Book I, §§ 54, I, and 95, i); *iér*, like *ér*, becoming atonic, was changed into *er*: *argentier, argenter-ie; boucher, boucher-ie; boulanger, boulang-er-ie; chevalier, cheval-er-ie*; in other cases the derivative was taken from substantives in *-eur* where the syllable *-eur* became atonic and was reduced to *-er*: *blanchisseur, blanch-iss-er-ie; menteur, menter-ie*. This termination in *-erie* became so frequent that there grew up a belief in the existence of a suffix *-erie*, which finally replaced the suffix *-ie* altogether (§ 313, c). From the 12th century words in *-erie* began to appear: *novelle, novell-erie; aumône* gave in Old French *aumonie* and *aumonerie*. In the course of Middle French certain derivatives change their suffix *-ie* into *-erie*: *diablie* becomes *diablerie*; *orfèvrerie* becomes *orfèvrerie*. From the 16th century on, the language only used the suffix *-erie* in its new formations: *âne, an-erie; cagot, cagot-erie; charlatan, charlatan-erie; coquette, coquett-erie; coquin, coquin-erie; drôle, drôl-erie; dupe, dup-erie; fourbe, fourb-erie; singe, sing-erie, &c.*

Thus the existing words in *-ie*, e.g. *mairie*, date back to Old French¹: and this is at present changed by the people into *mairerie*. This substitution of *-erie* for *-ie* is a curious example of the transformations of suffixes.

In signification the suffix *-ie* or *-erie* shows characteristic changes. In *cagoterie, folie*, it expresses the mode of existence, or the state of the individual who is *cagot*², *fou*. From

¹ Of course we refer here only to words of Popular formation. We shall see that this suffix *-ie* is still in force in the Learned formation, but there it fully corresponds to the Greek suffix *-ia*.

² [The *Cagots* were an outcast race, scattered through the S.W. of France and accused of leprosy; probably through analogy of sound in part, the name has now come to be used as a pejorative of *bigot, a stupid fanatic*. See F. Michel, *Races maudites de la France*.]

being abstract, the signification readily becomes concrete. *Faire des cagoteries, faire une folie*, signify to do acts resulting from *cagoterie* (bigotry), *folie*. *Librairie* signified in Old French *library*, a collection of books, and it has come to mean in the Modern language a bookseller's trade or shop. In industrial language the suffix *-erie* is utilized to denote industries and businesses, and the places where these are carried on: *boulangerie, laiterie, orfèvrerie, &c.*

316. NOUN-SUFFIXES CONTAINING SIMPLE CONSONANTS.—

1. **-ĀOU.** This suffix exists in some Latin adjectives, such as *ebri-āous* from *ebrius* (*ivre*). On this type Gallo-Romanic lengthened the adjective *verus* into *verāous*, which became *verai*, later on *vrai*. *Verus* had given the adjective *voir, voire*, which now only survives as an adverb, having been replaced in its other uses by the above derivative.

2. **-ĀC-U.** This suffix, of Gaulish origin, has served to form very many names of places. After the conquest of Gaul, Augustus (B.C. 27) established the land-tax; property in land did not then exist in the country, since the ground belonged to the commune, the *pagus*. The establishment of this tax changed communal property into private property; the heads of the commune became landowners responsible for the tax, and had to exploit the lands which became their domains. It was necessary to designate these estates, and so create numerous names of places. A very simple means was devised: to the landowner's name was added the Gaulish suffix *-ao*, which signifies 'in relation to,' nearly corresponding to the suffix *-ier*. If this owner was a barbarian, *-aoum* was added to the stem of his plain name (romanized): *Camarus, Camar-aoum*; *Eburus, Ebur-aoum*; *Turnus, Turn-aoum*. If, on the contrary, he had become a Roman citizen possessing a *gentilicium* or family name, the suffix *-aoum* was added to the radical of the name of his *gens*, which always ended in *i*: *Quintius,*

Quinti-acum ; **Paulius**, **Pauli-acum** ; **Sabinus**, **Sabini-acum**.

Thus two series of proper names were formed, in **-acum** and **-iacum** respectively.

These underwent different modifications in different regions. In the South they only dropped the **m** and the **u** ; hence numerous names in **-ac** and **-iac**. The **i** of **-iac** might combine with a preceding **l** or **n**, giving **l mouillée** or **n mouillée**, or with a **t**, giving **g**, **z** : **Carenden-acum**, **Carennac** (Lot) ; **Paulin-iacum**, **Paulignac** or **Polignac** (Charente Inférieure) ; **Aurel-iacum**, **Aurillac** (Cantal). The **o** might drop out, or be replaced by a **t** or an **s** : **Nantu-acum**, **Nantua** (Ain) ; **Carbon-acum**, **Charbonnat** (Saône-et-Loire) ; **Arn-acum**, **Arnas** (Rhône) ; **Maro-iacum**, **Marsas** (Gironde), **Marsat** (Puy-de-Dôme). North of the Loire, **-acum** was changed into **-ai**, **-ay**, **-ey**, **-é** ; **-iacum** was changed into ***-iai**, ***-iei**, **-y**, by contraction : **Spara-acum**, **Épernay** (Marne) ; **Camer-acum**, **Cambrai** (Nord) ; **Man-iacum**, **Maney** (Marne) ; **Flor-iacum**, **Flauré** (Vienne), **Fleury** (Aisne) ; **Sabin-iacum**, **Sevigny** (Orne), **Savigny** (Seine-et-Oise) ; **Anton-iacum**, **Antony** (Seine-et-Oise) ; **Olipi-iacum**, **Clucky** (Seine) ; **Gaud-iacum**, **Jouy** (Aisne).

Let us consider a single type of names : those derived from **Gant-iacum** ; in different places this became :

Cussac (Gironde, Aveyron, Cantal, &c.) ;

Cuisia (Jura) ;

Cussat (Aveyron) ;

Cuissai (Orne) ;

Cussay (Indre-et-Loire) ;

Cossé (Maine-et-Loire, Mayenne) ;

Cusset (Allier) ;

Cussy (Côte-d'Or) ;

Cuissy (Yonne) ;

Coisy (Somme) ;

Choisey (Jura) ;

Choury (Loir-et-Cher) ;

Choué (Indre-et-Loire);

Choisy (Seine, Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Marne, Oise, &c.).

Thus were formed the numerous names of places (hamlets, villages, and towns), most of which were originally the names of Gallo-Roman farms or domains. We may notice, by the way, that from the permanence of these names of domains as names of localities and towns we may draw a very probable induction in favour of the antiquity of the road system of France. For these domains to become centres of populations they must have been united by a regular network of roads; and it is not too bold to affirm that the commercial geography of France during the Middle Ages, and even in modern times, is in its origin traceable to the imperial administration of Gaul.

3. -IOU. The *i* of this suffix being short, and therefore atonic, the suffix could not be preserved isolated; but it passed into French in the compound form -*atious*, with the *tempus forte* on the *a*. -*Atious* formed adjectives in Popular Latin: *par-atious*, *silv-atious*, *vi-atium*, *vol-atious*, &c. It became successively **-ādego*, **-ādeo*, **-ādo*, -*age*: *silvations*, *selvage*, *sauvage*; *viatium*, *veiage*, *voyage*; *volatious*, *volage*.

In Old French it also formed adjectives: *ombre*, *ombr-age* (*lieu ombrage*, 'a place with shade,' whence the substantive *ombrage*, taken absolutely, = *shade*); *rain*, *ram-age* (*chant ramage*, song from the *ramée* = branches or tree-tops; whence the substantive *ramage*, taken absolutely, = the song of birds in the open); *forme*, *formage* (*lait formage*, milk set in *formes*, whence the substantive *formage*, *fromage*, taken absolutely, = *cheese*).

Moreover, the Old language possessed a great number of substantives in -*age* expressing collective ideas; they have mostly been preserved with the same sense in the Modern language: *branch-age*, *feuill-age* (*foliage*), *charbonn-*

-age, *lain-age*, *vitr-age* (glass, of a building), *lait-age* (milk food-products), &c.

But as early as the Middle Ages the signification of this suffix had a tendency to change, and united with verb radicals it has come to express in the Modern language the verbal action: *lav-age* = the action of washing (*laver*); *chauff-age* = the action of heating (*chauffer*); *balay-age* = the action of sweeping (*balayer*). Of rare occurrence are those new derivatives which, like *outillage*, 'the whole set of the tools (*outils*) of a trade,' preserve the collective idea which the suffix expressed in the Old language.

This suffix was formerly added to radicals of nouns, but is now added only to those of verbs¹. If *crayonn-age* were an old word it would signify 'collection of crayons or chalks,' and would have come from *crayon*; as a matter of fact it signifies 'the action of chalking,' and comes from *crayonner*.

4. -ҮОҮ, -ҮОА. This suffix exists in *laotҹoa*, *laitue*; *verrҹoa*, *verrue*; *carrҹoa*, *charrue*, &c. On this type have been formed **astruom*, *astru*, from *astre*, whence *malastru*, *malostru*, *malotru* (*ill-starred*, whence it has come to mean *ill-mannered*); *massue*, from *masse* (*club, mace*); *lortue*.

5. -ҘОҮ, -ҘОҮ. The Latin suffix -*oens*, -*cius*, was preceded by an accented vowel: -*aoens*, -*aoius*, -*ioens*, -*ioius*, -*poens*, -*poius*, -*poens*, -*poius*. -*aoens*, -*aoius*, was a very fertile suffix in Latin: *gallinaoens*, *herbaeoens*, *minaoia*. In French the masculine form has become -*as*, -*as*: *solaoium*, O.F. *soulas* (*consolation*); the feminine form has become -*ace*, -*asse*: *minaoia*, *menace*. *Brouillas*, *coutelas*, *embarras*, *plâtras*, &c., *crevasse*, *cuirasse*, *filasse*, *lavasse*, *terrace*, *tignasse*, are new substantives derived from nouns.

¹ With, however, the exception of *factage*, which comes from *factur* and has been formed on the type of *lavour*, *lavage*, *battour*, *battage* (§ 312, ii).

or verbs. There are also nouns in *-ache*: *bravache*, *ganache*, &c. Though in the Picard and Low Norman dialects the feminine form does present itself in the form of *-ache*, the nouns of this termination are mostly of foreign origin (Italian *-accia*). These substantives have a collective signification, augmentative or pejorative.

This suffix also formed feminine adjectives in *-asse* with a pejorative signification: *bonasse* (*stupidly good-natured*), *mollasse*, &c.; and then, the feminine form being no longer felt, it was extended to the masculine: *blondasse* (*tow-coloured, of hair*), *fadasse*, &c. Thus it is that the substantive *savant*, which had formed the masculine derivative *savantas* (*pedant*) (Molière, *Fâcheux*, iii, 3), has given in the Modern language the masculine derivative *savantasse* (*smallerer*).

6. *-IOEU*, *-IOIU*. This suffix has given in French in the masculine *-is*, *-is*; in the feminine *-ice*, *-isse*; and as a dialectal form *-iche*: *factioius*, O.F. *faitis* (*well-wrought*); *finotioius*, O.F. *feintis* (*crafty*); *traotioius*, O.F. *traitis* (*well-turned*); *salsioiam*, *saucisse*. This suffix was added to past participles¹, especially to those of the 1st conjugation (in *-atum*); whence the form *-atjoius*, which became the French *-dis*, *-ets*, *-ets*, *-is*. Thus *oolare* (*couler*) gave *oolatjoius*, *coleis*, *coleis*, *coulis* (*vent coulis* = *draught*); *levare* (*lever*), *levatjoius*, *levedis*, *leveis*, *leveis*, *levis* (*pont-levis* = *drawbridge*). Hence a great number of masculine verbal substantives in *-is*: *éboulis*, *frottis*, *gâchis*, *glacis*, *hachis* (*mince*), *lavis*, *pilotis*, *pâtis*, *semis*, *torchis*, &c.; and feminine verbal substantives in *-isse*: *bâtisse* (*framework of building*), *coulisse* (*fem. of coulis*), &c. We may add some words in

¹ In *factioius*, *traotioius*, where the suffix is added to participles, the *i* is long. Latin possessed another suffix, *-ioius*, with the *i* short, which was added either to adjectives or substantives: *galbinioiam*, *pellioiam*. These two words should have become *jaunisse*, *pelisse*, just as *pioiam*, *vioiam*, became *peisse*, *veisse*; but they gave *jaunisse*, *pelisse*, because the suffix *-ioius* was soon confused with the suffix *-ioius*, which was the source of so many more derivatives.

-iche (dialectal or foreign): *pouliche* (*foal*; Low Norman), *barbiche*, *corniche*, *postiche* (Italian).

7. *-OCEU*, *-OCIU*. This suffix does not seem to have given any derivatives in *-os*, *-os*, *-oce*, *-asse*; but there exist some feminine words in *-oche*: *brioche*, *épinoche*, *filoche*, *mailloche* (a heavy mallet, from *maillet*), *mioche*, *pioche*, &c., of obscure origin, of which the ending seems to be derived from an Italian suffix *-occa*, and not from the Italian *-occio*, *-occia*, as in *bamboche* (*bamboccio*); *fantoche* (*fantoccio*); *saioche*, *carrosse* (earlier *carroche*).

8. *-UCIU*, *-UCIU*. Like the preceding one, this suffix does not seem to have given any derivatives in *-us*, *-us*, *-usse*; but there exist similarly some feminines in *-uche*: *bau-druche*, *guenuche* (from *guenon*), *peluche* (*plush*, from *poil*); this suffix is obscure. Italian possesses some words in *-uccio*, *-uccia*, which, from the 16th century on, gave French words in *-uche*: *perruche* (*parroquet*, *peruccia*), *fanfreluche* (*gewgaw*).

9. *-EOLU*, *-IOLU*. This suffix, which existed in Latin in *areola*, *falseolus*, *foliolum*, *gloriola*, had the *tempus forte* on the *e* or the *i*; but it was displaced in the Romanic period so as to give *-eplus*, *-iplus*. It had a diminutive value.

The masculine in French became first *-uel*, *-eul*, then *-euil* under the influence of analogy (Book II, p. 261): *filip-lum*, *filleul*; *lintheolum*, *linceul*; *hispaniolum*, *épagneul*; *tiliolum*, *tilleul*; *capreolum*, *chevreuil*; *scuriolum*, *écureuil*. It sometimes kept the *o* unchanged: *lusciniolum*, *rossignol*. In the masculine form it lost its function as a suffix at the end of the Middle Ages, and left to the Modern language only the preceding words, together with *aieul*, *bouvreuil*, and a few others.

In the feminine form *-iola* it has given the feminine *aieule* and a number of words in *-ole* or *-olle*, mostly preceded by the intercalary suffix *-er* (§ 313, c): *bande*, *banderole*; *seve*, *severole*; *flamme*, *flammerole*; *lis*, *liserolle*; *mouche*,

moucheron (fly-catcher, bird); *rousse*, *rousserolle*, &c. This feminine termination in *-ole* seems to be now extinct. There are other words in *-ole*, such as *astéroïde*, *luciole*, that are of Learned formation.

10. **-ULU** (in *-aoulus*, *-ioulus*, *-oulus*, *-ioulus*).

These suffixes have become: *-aoulus -aoula*, *-ail -aille* (*gubernacoulum*, *gouvernail*; *tenacoula*, *tenaille*); *-ioulus -ioula*, *-eil -eille* (*pericoulus*, *pareil*); *-ioulus -ioula*, *-il -ille* (*auricoula*, *oreille*; *pericoulum*, *péril*; *lenticoula*, *lentille*¹); *-ioulus -ioula*, *-ouil -ouille* (*genicoulum*, O.F. *genouil*; *ranicoula*, *grenouille*).

These suffixes have been more or less fertile in new formations. *-Aoulus -aoula*, *-ail -aille*, which were fertile in Latin and still more so in Old French, have disappeared in the Modern language. Of the derivatives created during the Middle Ages, French has preserved *épouvantail*, *éventail*, *fermail*, *vantail*, *vitrail*, &c. *-Eil -eille*, *-il -ille*, have also given a fair number of derivatives: *bouteille*, *pareil*, *soleil*, *sommeil*,—*béquille*, *chenille*, *faucille* (*sickle*, from *faux*, *scythe*), *grille* (O.F. *graille*), &c.; but some of these have also become extinct. The numerous words in *-ille* of recent formation have another origin which we shall treat later on (14); moreover, they have not the *diminutive* signification of the present category, but a collective sense. The words in *-ouil -ouille* were not numerous, and the surviving words in *-ouil* have, with the exception of *fenouil*, changed the *-ouil* into *-ou*: *genou*, *pou*, *verrou*. In *-ouille* we have *cornouille*, *grenouille*, *quenouille* (*distaff*).

11. **-ALE**. This suffix, which was very fertile in Latin, formed adjectives which might be used substantively.

It has become in French *-el* or *-al*², giving thus two

¹ In Popular Latin the short *i* of the suffix *-ioula* in *lenticoula*, *lentille*, *canicoula*, *chenille*, was lengthened into *i*. Thus Old French still gave *cornille*, *orille* (for *cornaille*, *oreille*) from *cornicoula*, *auricoula*, instead of *cornioula*, *aurioula*.

² *-Al* is of Learned origin; but at an early period it passed from the

different suffixes: *legalis, loyal*; *regalis, royal*; *carnalis, charnel*; *mortalis, mortal*; hence the new adjectives and substantives in *-al* and *-el*: *banal, final, national,—journal, signal,—accidental, personnel*.

12. **-ILE**. In Latin this suffix formed (1) adjectives: *gentilis, gentil*; and (2) neuter substantives in *-ile*: *faenile, fenil (hay-loft)*. New formations: *charretil, chenil (kennel, from chien), courtil, couil, essieu* (O. F. *aisil, axle-tree, fournil (bakehouse), fusil*.

13. **-B-ILE**. This suffix was first added to verb radicals, pure or modified: *amabilis, amiable, laudabilis, favorable*. Gradually, in the form of *-abilis* or *-ibilis*, it came to be added to any verb radical whatever, or even to substantive radicals. *-ibilis* has become *-ible*, which occurs in a few words of Popular formation: *paisible, pénible*; but chiefly in words of Learned formation. The suffix most used is *-able*¹, which forms adjectives with the radical of the present participles of verbs of all conjugations: *agrée, agréable; définir, définissable; redevoir, redevable; recevoir, recevable; croire, croyable; connaître, connaissable; vendre, vendable*. It is also added to substantives: *charitable, corvéable, équitable, mainmortable, sortable, vérifiable, viable*.

In sense *-abilis* expressed in Latin an active or passive possibility: *formidabilis, who may frighten or be frightened; favorable, who or which may bring into favour or be in favour*. Old French continued this tradition; and the new adjectives in *-able* which it created might express, for transitive verbs, either the active or the passive aspect: *agréable, that may accept or be accepted; aidable, that may give aid or receive aid; voyable, that may see or be seen*.

Of the active usage of the Middle Ages the Modern language has preserved: *secourable, that can succour*;

language of the lettered to that of the people, and supplanted *-el* in a great number of words.

¹ [The English suffix *-able* is borrowed from this.]

comptable, that can account, i.e. accountant; redevable, that may owe, liable (from redevoir); effroyable, that may frighten; épouvantable, that may terrify; pitoyable, who or that may inspire pity; and some others. We may add all similar words of Learned formation: delectable, that may delight; responsable, who or that may answer [for]; solvable, who is able to pay. Save these adjectives, which are of old formation, existing derivatives in -able from transitive verbs all express the passive possibility: vendable, that may be sold, saleable, &c.

In intransitive verbs the suffix -able indicates and can only indicate an active possibility: *convenable, that may suit; périssable, that may perish; serviable, who or that may serve; valable, that may be worth; alable (in préalable, that may go [aller] in front). The sense of the suffix is slightly modified with certain intransitives: une situation remédiable, a situation that one can remedy; une affaire lamentable, an affair that one may lament; jours ouvrables, days on which one may work (from *ouvrer*, obsolete)¹.*

14. -LIA. The suffix -lis (*a-lis, e-lis, i-lis*) could be used substantively in Latin in the neuter plural -lia; this plural was taken in Popular Latin for a feminine singular, so that the Latin termination -*alia* has become in French -*aille*, the termination -*ilia* or -*lia* has become -*eille*, and the termination -*lia, -ille*. There exists but one word in -*eille*: *merveille*, from *mirabilia*; but the suffixes -*aille, -ille*, added to the radicals of nouns or verbs, have formed many feminine substantives of collective signification; and it is this collective signification which distinguishes them from words in -*aille* and in -*ille* formed from -*coula, -jcoula*. [See (10), p. 471.]

Words in -*aille*: *accordailles, broussaille (brush-wood), cisaille, fiançailles, fuaille, limaille, moinaille, rimaille, semaille*,

[These verbs take the indirect object, but with their linking prepositions formed in the mind a single transitive idea and so gave derivatives in -able in the passive sense.]

valetaille. The suffix *-aille* in the Modern language has acquired a pejorative value: *prêtraille*, *radicaille*¹.

Words in *-ille*: *brouille* (twig), *pointille*, *ramille*, *vétille* (rag, trifle); *charmille*, *coudrille*, *ormille*; in the three last nouns *-ille* has come by its collective idea to express plantations of horn-beam, hazel, or elm (*charmes*, *coudrier*, *orme*). (See the suffix *-øtu*, p. 481.)

15. *-ANU*, *-ANA*. This suffix in Latin formed adjectives and substantives (*a*) from substantives: *villa*, *villanus*; *Roma*, *Romanus*; and, in Popular Latin, (*b*) sometimes from adjectives: *altus*, *altanus*; *certus*, *certanus*; and (*c*) even from adverbs: *longe*, *longitanus*. It became in French (1) *-ain*, *-aine*: *certain*, *hautain*, *lointain*, *romain*, *vilain*; or (2), after a palatal, *-ien* (Book I, § 54, I): *christianum*, *chrétien*; *paganum*, *paten*. The words of French formation in *-ain* belong to the earliest periods of the language; this suffix has disappeared from the Modern language. This does not apply to the second form *-ien*, *-ienne*, which has taken a considerable development, especially since the 16th century: *gardien*, *faubourien*, *prussien*, &c. We may also note a peculiar use of *-ain*, *-aine*, with numerals to indicate a set, this suffix having replaced the suffix *-ein* from *-ønu*: *huitaine*, *neuvaine*, *disaine*, *dousaine*, *vingtaine*, *centaine*, instead of *huiteine*, *neuveine*, &c. The change is probably due to the influence of *centain*. In the masculine these numerals are used as terms of prosody: *quatrain*, *sixain*, *disain*, &c. (Book II, § 138).

16. *-INU*, *-INA*. This suffix, which in Latin formed adjectives and substantives, passed into French and was

¹ Meaning *priests*, *radicals*, collectively, and in a disparaging sense. But when Régnier, in one of his satires, says:

‘Les Latins, les Hébreux et toute l’*antiquaille*,’

this word, borrowed from the Italian *antiquaglia*, was used to denote ancient literature as a whole, without suggesting the slightest pejorative idea; it would be erroneous to take it in the sense which the language ascribed to it later on.

used to form new adjectives : *argentin*, *bovin* (in *bovine*), *enfantin*, *sauvagin*; and especially ethnical names : *Angevin*, *Messin* (of *Mets*), *Périgourdin*. It forms substantives (a) from nouns : *étoupin* (wad), *gourdin* (from *corde* ; *rope's-end*, hence *cudgel*), *grapin* ; and (b) from verbs : *gratin*, *picotin*, *trottin* (foot). This suffix, which has a diminutive meaning in *blondin*, *crottin*, *oursin* (bear-cub), has come to have a pejorative meaning in *calotin*, *galantin* (would be galant), *plaisantin*. It has also given feminine substantives : *famine*, *houssine*, *routine*, *saisine*, *terraine*. The feminine suffix *-ine* is especially used in the language of chemistry, perfumery, and textile industries, thus forming half-learned, half-popular words : *aconitine*, *morphine*, — *brillantine*, *veloutine*, — *percaline*, *popeline*.

17. **-ONE**. This suffix was very fertile in Latin, in which it designated persons, animals, and things of various kinds. Many of the Latin words which it formed have become French : *charbon*, *faucon*, *larron*, *lion*, *poumon*, *savon*, *saumon*, &c. (from *carbōnem*, *falcōnem*, *latrōnem*, &c.). French, in its turn, has created a number of new words by adding this suffix to the radicals of substantives and verbs : *brouillon*, *ceinturon*, *chatnon*, *coupon*, *cruchon*, *fripon*, *harpon*, *jelon*, *jupon*, *juron*, *paillasson*, &c.

In the derivatives from substantives it has usually a diminutive value, especially in the names of animals : *aiglon*, *anon*, *chalon*, *ourson*, *raton* (eaglet, ass-foal, kitten, &c.); the diminutive value is often emphasized by the addition of an intercalary syllable which gives more consistency to the suffix : *ail-er-on*, *mouch-er-on*, *puc-er-on*, *bouv-ill-on*, *cendr-ill-on* (cinderella), *cot-ill-on*, *berr-ich-on*, *corn-ich-on* (gherkin), *fol-ich-on*, *bann-et-on*, *cul-et-on*, *hann-et-on*. The diminutive sense is obvious in Christian names : *Fanchon*, *Jeanneton*, *Marion* ; it is still apparent in *laid-eron*, *souillon*, *tendron*. It becomes pejorative in *brouillon*, *grognon*.

We must note that in Italian the very same suffix has an augmentative value, which explains the oddity of such words as *ballon*, *caisson*, *canton*, *carafon*, *médailon*. In the 17th century *carafon*, coming from the Italian, meant a large *carafe*; now it means a little *carafe*, the sense of its termination having been assimilated to that of the French termination *-on*. *Médailon*, derived from *médaille*, had it been of French origin, would have meant a small *medal* (*médaille*), but, being borrowed from the Italian *medaglione*, it means a large medal.

18. **-IŒNE.** (i) *Masculine.*—The suffix which we have just examined often occurred, preceded by an *i*, in Popular Latin: *campus* formed *campionem*, *champion*, and in the same way in French *croupe* has given *croupion*; *lampe*, *lampion*. But in many cases the *i*, merging with a preceding sound, gave rise to a new sound: *auc-i-onem*, *oison* (*gosling*); *arc-i-onem*, *arçon* (*holster*); *trunc-i-onem*, *tronçon* (Book I, § 78); *compan-i-onem*, *compagnon* (Book I, § 60, 2).

(ii) *Feminine.*—This suffix formed feminine abstract substantives from the past participle: the participles *lectus*, *factus*, *fusus*, *traditus*, *nutritus*, gave respectively *lectionem*, *leçon*; *factionem*, *façon*; *fusionem*, *foison* (*abundant produce or growth*); *traditionem*, *trahison*; *nutritionem*, *nourrisson* (*nursling*; feminine substantive in Old French). This suffix, in derivatives from certain French verbs in *-ir*, takes the form of *-son*: *guérir*, *guérison*; *garnir*, *garnison*. In Latin its most frequent use was with the past participle of verbs of the 1st conjugation: *-atus* gave *-ationem*, which became in French *-aison*; thus *oratus*, from *orare*, gave *orationem*, *oraison*; *venationem* gave *venaison*; *comparationem*, *comparaison*. In Old and Middle French this suffix was used with all kinds of verbs and yielded a great number of new words, some of which still exist: *couver*, *couvaizon*; *faucher*, *fauchaison*; *florir*, *floraison*; *livrer*, *livraison*; *pendre*, *pendaison*; *tondre*, *tondaizon*.

This suffix has entirely disappeared in the Modern language before the suffix *-ation* of Learned origin: *dériv*er gives *dérivation* and not *dérivaison*¹. All new abstract substantives derived from the infinitive by means of this suffix end in *-ation*: *généralisation*, &c.

19. **-UNU, -UNA.** This suffix, which is found in some Latin words, seems to have given but one derivative in French: *bécune* from *bec*.

20. **-ARE.** This suffix in Latin formed adjectives which might become substantives: *buccularem*, *pilarem*, *scolar-**rem*, *singular**em*; the suffix became in Old French *-er*: *boucler*, *piler*, *escoler*, *sangler*. At the end of the Middle Ages *-er* merged into *-ier*: *bouclier*, *pilier*, *écolier*, *sanglier*.

But *-ier* was reduced to *-er* when the radical ended with *oh*, *g*, *l* *mouillée*, or *n* *mouillée*: *vacher*, *berger*, *conseiller*, &c.; words like *pistachier*, *épongie*r, are of ancient origin. The suffix, as in Latin, forms both substantives and adjectives.

21. **-ARIU.** This suffix, of inexhaustible fertility, in Latin formed both substantives and adjectives. It passed into French in the form of *-ier*, *-ière*, and in some cases in the form of *-aire* (*contrarius*, *contraire*); *-aire* only gave new words of Learned formation, the popular suffix being *-ier*, *-ière*.

The radical of the derivatives formed with this suffix may be that (i) of a substantive: *buisson*, *buissonnier*; *prison*, *prisonnier*; (ii) of an adjective: *gros*, *grossier*; *plein*, *plénier*; or (iii) of an adverb: *devant*, *devancier*. The derivatives may be (a) adjectives: *moutonnier*, *princier* (*princely*), *printanier*, *routier*; (b) masculine or feminine substantives denoting the person acting: *barbier*; *géolier*, *géolière*; *greffier*; *fermier*, *fermière*; (c) masculine substantives designating a tree or plant: *cerisier*, *fraisier*,

¹ Old French possessed a half-popular form, *dérivaison*.

peuplier, pommier; (d) feminine substantives denoting articles serving to contain other things: *aumônière, bonbonnière, glacière, gouttière, soupière* (*soup-tureen*), *tabatière* (*snuff-box*), &c.; (e) under the masculine form the substantives may conceal a Latin neuter: *charnier, échiquier, moutardier, saladier, panier* (*panarium*), &c.

The variety of signification appears unlimited, and the suffix seems to have no other sense than to point out general relations of belonging. It may be translated by the vague expression 'qui tient' (that which holds or keeps): *pommier*, 'ce qui tient des pommes'; *encrier*, 'ce qui tient de l'encre'; *chevalier*, 'celui qui tient un cheval'; *crinière*, 'ce qui tient des crins'; *rivière*, 'ce qui tient la rive'; *géolier*, 'celui qui tient la géole'; *prisonnier*, 'celui qui tient la prison.'

22. -QRE. From adjectives Latin derived abstract substantives in -qrem: *albus* (*white*), *alborem* (*whiteness*). Gallo-Romanic developed this formation and created a considerable number of derivatives in which -qrem assumes the form -eur: *grand, grandeur; laid, laideur; large, largeur; raide, raideur*, &c. The words formed by this suffix in Latin were masculine, but in French it has become a feminine suffix (Book II, § 162).

23. -QB, -QRE. This suffix, added to the past participle in Latin, designated the agent.

Tradere, traditus, derivative *traditor*.

Facere, factus, derivative *factor*.

Legere, lectus, derivative *lector*.

Imperare, imperatus, derivative *imperator*.

Some of the Latin derivatives have become French: *factorem, fauteur* (in *bienfauteur, malfauteur*); *imperatorem, empereur*. Here also (cf. -abilis, p. 472) the language has utilized the suffix especially in the form presented with verbs of the 1st conjugation, -at-qrem, which became

successively *-edor* (11th century), *-eor* (12th-13th), *-eur* (13th), and *-ur* (14th). It is added to the radical of the present participle:

Blanchir, blanchiss-ant, blanchisseur.

Mentir, ment-ant, menteur.

Venger, venge-ant, vengeur.

The number of these derivatives in *-eur* is so considerable that the suffix alone has come to have the full power of expressing the agent, and so of forming new derivatives from substantives, as well as from verbs; *pétrole, pétroleur* (the verb *pétroler* does not exist); *chronique, chroniqueur* (*chroniquer* does not exist¹); *farce, farceur* (the verb *farcer* does not exist).

In Middle French the final *r* of this suffix disappeared from popular pronunciation, and even from that of the upper classes (Book I, § 121). People said *un menteu, un porteu d'eau, un coupeu de bourses, un arracheu de dents, &c.* We find a trace of this pronunciation in the lines of La Fontaine:

Mon bon *monsieur*²,

Apprenez que tout *flatteur*

Vit aux dépens de celui qui l'écoute.

The *r* reappeared in the pronunciation of the middle classes in the middle of the 18th century. Yet even nowadays *fauchoux* (*field-spider*) subsists side by side with *faucheur* (also meaning *mower*); *baveux* with *baveur, &c.* It is especially in the popular speech that the pronunciation *eu* has survived so as to cause confusion with the suffix *-eux, -euse* (see 26, below). So the word *un gâteux* is used instead of *un gâteur*. It is really a different suffix from the latter, and has a pejorative sense: *les partageux* (those who wish to share other people's goods) for *les partageurs*.

¹ [It is now creeping into journalistic use.]

² [The final *r* of *monsieur* was not pronounced, even at this period.]

The feminine of this suffix was in Latin *-ix, -ioem*: *imperatorē, imperatrioem*. *Imperatrioem* became in Old French *empereris*; then a new feminine, derived from the suffix *-jasa, -esse* (§ 317, 2), replaced the termination *-ix*: *empereresse*. *-Esse*, lengthened into *-eresse*, was in Middle French the regular feminine ending corresponding to the masculine *-eur*: *danseur, danseresse*; *menteur, menteresse*; *pipeur, piperesse*; *vengeur, vengeresse*. Later on, when the masculine *-eur* became confused with the masculine *-eux*, *-eresse* gave way to *-euse*: *menteur, menteuse*; *-eresse* was only preserved in a few archaisms: *bailleresse, chasseresse, demanderesse, enchanteresse, pécheresse, vengeresse* (Book II, § 164, v).

The Modern language is modifying the signification of the suffix *-eur, -euse*, by applying it to express the names of instruments: *un condenseur, une balayeuse, une moissonneuse* (a reaping-machine, reaper); the suffix, thus extended in signification, is replacing the suffix *-oir, -oire*.

24. **-ORIU, -ORIA.** In Latin this suffix formed adjectives, which might in turn become either masculine or feminine substantives. Here again French has utilized the form of this suffix taken from verbs of the 1st conjugation (see 23, above): *-at-oriu, -at-oria*, which has passed through the successive forms *-edoir, -edoire*; *-eoir, -eoire*; *-oir, -oire*; but it has always a substantival value, and usually designates (a) the place of an action: *abattoir* (slaughter-house), *abreuvoir* (drinking-trough), *boudoir, chauffoir, &c.*; or (b) the instrument with which something is done: *arrosoir* (watering-pot, from *arroser*), *battoir, découpoir, brunissoir* (burnisher), *polissoir*. The following are feminine: *baignoire* (bath), *balançoire* (swing), *écumoire* (skimmer), *râteau* (rake), &c. As we see, this suffix is generally added to radicals of verbs, but, by a misapprehension, it has been also added to the radicals of substantives: *bougeoir* (candlestick, from *bougie*); *drageoir*, from *dragée*.

25. **-ŪRA**. This suffix formed in Latin abstract feminine substantives from the past participle: *factus*, *factura*; *flatus*, *flatura*; *morsus*, *morsura*; *natus*, *natura*; *piotus*, *piotura*. Some of these Latin words have become French: *junctura*, *jointure*; *scriptura*, *écriture*. The language has especially utilized the suffix **-at-ura**, taken from the 1st conjugation, which gave the successive forms **-adure**, **-edure** (11th century), **-ature** (12th), **-ure** (14th, 15th). This suffix is added to the radicals (a) of verbs: *blesure* (a wound), *bouffissure* (swelling), *clôture*, *coiffure*, *flétrissure*, *teinture*; (b) of adjectives: *ordure* (from the Old French *ord*, dirty, still used in the 17th century), *verdure* (greenery); (c) of substantives: *chevelure*, *denture*, *ferrure*, *nacrure*.

Its signification, originally abstract, has in some instances become concrete (e. g. *chevelure*, a person's hair, &c.).

26. **-ŌSU**, **-ŌSA**. This suffix in Latin formed adjectives from substantives; it has become in French **-eux**, **-euse**, and has kept its function: *farineux*, *hasardeux*, *neigeux*, *nerveux*, *paresseux*, *poussiéreux*.

27. **-ĀTU**. This termination of the past participle of the 1st conjugation has become **-é** in French, and has formed (a) adjectives: *marbré* (marbled), *nacré*, *orangé*, *perlé*, *sensé*; (b) a small number of masculine substantives: *côté*, *poiré*, *pommé*, *raisiné*; (c) more numerous feminine substantives, expressing (i) an abundance or collection of objects: *gerbée*, *ionchée*, *risée* (abondance de rires), &c.; (ii) sometimes the idea of a thing contained: *assiettée*, *bouchée*, *cuillerée* (spoonful), *poignée*; or with the intercalated syllable **-et**: *pelletée*; (iii) a product: *araignée* (spider-web, or spider, but properly spider-web, from *aragne*, *spider*, obs.); (iv) the result of an action: *collée* (blow on the neck, col), *jouée* (blow on the cheek, joue). Sometimes the feminine derivative does not seem to add anything to the idea expressed by the radical: *an*, *année*; *val*, *vallée*, &c.

28. **-ĒTU**. This suffix, neuter in Latin, designated

a group of trees: *lauretum*, *rosetum*, *plantations of laurels, of roses*. It became French in the plural form as well as the singular. In the singular, *-etum* gave *-édu*, *-éd*, *-eid* (11th century), *-ei* (11th), *-ei* (12th), *-oi* (13th). *-Oi* has been preserved in Modern French in the form of *-oy*, later *-ay*, in proper nouns: *Aunoy*, *Aunay*. In the plural, *-eta*, which at the end of the Middle Ages had become *-oie*, *-aie*, was taken for a collective feminine singular. *-Oie* is still found in proper nouns and a few common nouns, e. g. *gravois* (for *gravoï*, from *grève*). The suffix *-aie* is now used to form new common nouns of this kind, and these are numerus: *boulaie*, *cerisaie*, *chênaie*, *coudraie*, *futaie*, *oseraie*, *pomméraie*, *ronceraie* [meaning *plantations of birch-trees (bouleaux)*, *cherry-trees (cerisiers)*, &c.], &c.

29. *-UTU*. This suffix in Popular Latin formed adjectives expressing some special development of a quality expressed by the radical, mostly with a shade of deprecation or contempt: *astutus*, *possessing cunning*; *cornutus*, *possessing horns (cornua)*; *nasutus*, *big-nosed*. Hence in French, by imitation: *barbu* (*bearded*), *bossu*, *branchu*, *crochu*, *crêpu*, *chevelu*, *charnu*, *goulu*, *fourchu*, *grenu*, *lippu* (*large-lipped*), *mafflu*, *moustachu*, *membreu*, *poïlu*, *patlu*, *pointu*, *têtu*, *ventru*, &c.

30. *-TATE*. This suffix (which corresponds nearly to the English *-ness*) formed abstract nouns in Latin; hence the French words: *bonitatem*, *bonté*; *claritatem*, *clarté*; *puritatem*, O.F. *purte* (Mod. F. *pureté*); *sanitatem*, *santé*; *veritatem*, O.F. *verité* (Mod. F. *vérité*). In some derivatives phonetic laws required the presence of a feminine *e* before the termination *-té*: *falsitatem*, O.F. *falsete* (Mod. F. *fausseté*); *paupertatem*, *pauvreté*. The derivative seemed as though formed from a feminine French adjective and the suffix *-té*; this is why in the Modern language the derivatives are actually formed in this way: *ancienneté*, *dureté*, *légereté*, *naïveté*, *oisiveté*, *sûreté*.—So the Old French

purle has become *pureté*. If a word corresponding to *bonté* had been created in our own time it would have been *bonnété*.

This suffix *-té* is very fertile and is a constant source of new derivatives designating abstract notions. The Learned formation has revived the Latin *i* of *-itatem*: *diversité*; and thus *verté* has become *vérité*.

81. *-itia*. This suffix in Latin also formed abstract nouns from adjectives: *avarus*, *avaritia*; *justus*, *justitia*. It is also nearly equivalent to the English *-ness*. In French it has become either *-esse* or *-ise*. In these two forms it has created a considerable number of new nouns from adjectives: *faiblesse*, *ivresse*, *justesse*, *richesse*, *rudesse*, *sagesse*, *tristesse*, *vieillesse*, &c.; *bêtise*, *cafardise*, *couardise*, *fainéantise*, *franchise*, *gaillardise*, *gourmandise*, *sottise*, &c.

We may note the interpolation of *-er-* in *fort-er-esse*, *séch-er-esse*.

82. *-ivus*. This suffix in Latin formed adjectives from the past participle: *attractus*, *attractivus*; *descriptus*, *descriptivus*. The suffix has become in French *-if*, *-ive*, and forms new adjectives from verbs or nouns: *défensif*, *maladif*, *pensif*, *poussif*, *tardif*, &c. During the course of the language *-if* has often replaced *-is*: *massif* for *massis*; and *-eux*: *oisif* for *oiseux*.

817. NOUN-SUFFIXES CONTAINING DOUBLE CONSONANTS OR CONSONANT-GROUPS.

1. Double Consonants.

1. *-ll-* (*-ellus*, *-ella*). In Latin this suffix formed diminutives chiefly; it passed into French in the form of *-el* (later on *-eau*) in the masculine, *-elle* in the feminine, and has assumed a rich development. Sometimes the suffix is added direct to the radical: *tombe*, *tombeau*; sometimes it

requires an intercalary syllable : *poète, poët-er-eau* ; *tourte, tourt-er-elle* ; *navem, nav-io-ella, nacelle*.

The proper function of this suffix is that of a diminutive. Sometimes the derivative has displaced the simple word and has then assumed its original signification : *cout-eau, mart-eau, taur-eau*. Sometimes the derivative has taken a distinct signification, and the simple word and derivative have both survived : *dent, dentelle* (tooth, lace) ; *ombre, ombrelle* (shade, sun-shade) ; *pomme, pommeau* (apple, pummel) ; *tombe, tombeau*. The diminutive signification is often preserved : *cave, caveau* ; *rue, ruelle* ; *tonne, tonneau* ; *bécasse, bécasseau* ; *carpe, carpeau* ; *colombe, colombelle* ; *dindon, dindonneau* ; *pigeon, pigeonneau* ; *porc, pourceau* ; *tourte* (obsolete), *tourterelle*.

2. -SS- (jssa). This suffix in Latin of the Decadence formed feminines of nouns denoting persons : *diaconjssa, prophetjssa*. It came into popular use through the language of the Church. It has become in French -esse (Eng. -ess), which has formed feminine substantives : *chanoinesse, diaconesse, duchesse, hôtesse, maîtresse, patronesse, prêtresse, princesse*, &c. ; and, preceded by the syllable -er-, it has also become the feminine ending corresponding to that of substantives in -eur denoting masculine agents : *défond-er-esse*, &c. (p. 480). -Esse has been extended to names of animals : *ânesse, tigresse*.

3. -TT-. This suffix occurs in feminine nouns in Popular Latin in the form of -jtta, which has become the French -ette. From this was formed a masculine -jttu, French -et. Then this suffix, with a change in the vowel, lengthened into -at, -atte, -ot, -otte. It forms substantives and adjectives of diminutive or sometimes contemptuous meaning, smallness breeding contempt. [It corresponds nearly to the English -let (booklet).]

The termination -at is rare : *aiglat, louvat* (from *aigle, loup*), *verrat* (boar of domestic pig). The termination -ot is

more frequent: *ilot, fiévrolette*. It is found in proper nouns: *Jacquot, Pierrot, Margot*, especially in Franche-Comté and Burgundy. The diminutive sense is lost in *fagot, gigot, goulot*. It is contemptuous in *bellet* (*childishly pretty*), *vieillot* (*oldish*). We may note the intercalation of this suffix in *verroterie*. The termination *-et* (*-ette*) is by far the most frequent, and forms diminutives: *garçonnet, fillette, boulette, maisonnette*.

The diminutive signification has disappeared, either through the disappearance of the original word or because the derivative had assumed a distinct signification, in *boulet, corset* (from *corps*, O.F. *cors*), *livret, ourlet, tabouret, alouette, casquette, tablette*. The radical is a substantive in most cases, as we have seen, but it may be a verb: *allumette, bavette* (*bib*), *mouchette, sonnette* (from *allumer, baver*, &c.). The suffix is preceded by an intercalary syllable in *gant-el-et, oss-el-et, band-el-ette, femm-el-ette, char-donn-er-et, gorg-er-ette, pâqu-er-ette*. When the suffix is added to an adjective its diminutive signification (= the Eng. *-ish*) becomes very apparent: *doux, doucet; roux, rousset; jeune, jeunet; mou, mollet; aigre (sour), aigrelet (sourish); grand, grandelet; tendre, tendrelet*.

2. Consonant-Groups.

1. **-ALD**. This suffix, of Germanic origin, is a constituent of a great number of compound Germanic proper names, such as *Grimwald, Reinwald*. In certain dialects *-wald* becomes *-wold*: *Reinwold*. Proper nouns in *-wold* have passed into French in the form of *-old*: *Reinwold, Reinold, Renout*. The form *-wald* became in French *-ald, -alt, -aud, -aut*: *Reinwald, Reinald, Reinaud, Renaud; Gerwald, Gérard, Géraud*. Of these the suffix *-ald* in French has formed, more especially, numerous proper names, first with Germanic elements, but afterwards even with Latin elements: *Arnaud, Artaut, Gonault, Guénégaud, Reynault, Bonaud, Clairaud or Clairaut, &c.*

Owing to the number of proper nouns in *-aud* the suffix was extended to common nouns indicating persons and animals, giving them mostly a pejorative sense. In the substantives *clabaud*, *crapaud*, *héraut*, *ribaud*, *baguenaude*, *grignenaude*, &c., the radical is doubtless Germanic; in *badaud*, *levraut* (*leveret*), *palaud* (*flounderer*, *bungler*, from *palle*), and *quinaud* the radical is French. The sense is clearly pejorative in derivatives from adjectives: *finaud* (*wily*), *lourdaud*, *noiraud*, *rustaud* (*boorish*), *salaud*.

2. **-ND-** This group is found in the Latin gerundives *-endus*, *-endum*, which in the feminine form have given French feminine substantives in *-ande*: *buande*, *buvande*, *filande*, *lavande*, *offrande*, *provende*, *viande*, whence *buandier*, *buanderie*; *filandière* (obsolete), *lavandière* [Old Eng. *lavender*, whence *laundry*], &c.

3. **-NS- (ense)**. The Latin *-ensem*, through its Popular form *-ese*, became in French *-eis*, or sometimes *-is*, and then *-ois*, which in the Modern language has been changed into *-ais*; thus the Latin suffix has given rise to three different forms in French: *-is*, *-ois*, *-ais*. As in Latin, these indicate origin or residence.

Derivatives in *-is*: *marquis* (man of the Mark or March), *pays* (country), *le Parisis*, *le Beauvaisis*.

Derivatives in *-ois*: *bourgeois*, *courtois*, *villageois*, *Albigois*, *Bavarois*, *Carthaginois*, &c.

Derivatives in *-ais*: *Anglais*, *Français*; *Orléanais*, side by side with *arlenois*, *alénois* (*cresson alénois* = *Orleans cress*, *garden cress*), *Portugais*, *Marseillais*, &c.

The language still hesitates between the two forms *-ais* and *-ois*. [We must note that the termination of *français*, *harnais*, *marais*, and a few other words represents the Germanic *-ish* (Eng. *-ish* in *Frankish*), and not the Lat. *-ense*.]

4. **-NT- (-mentu, -ento and -entia)**. The suffix *-mentu* was added in Latin to the radical of a verb: *ali-mentum*,

frag-mentum. French has utilized the suffix as it occurs in verbs of the 1st conjugation, *-a-mentum*, *-ement*, which is added to the radical of the present participle. It is one of the most fertile suffixes of the language, and a powerful instrument of derivation; it forms an unlimited number of words expressing either the action indicated by the radical or the state or object that results from the action: *abaissement*, *aboutissement*, *accablement*, *achèvement*, *accroissement*, *adoucissement*, *allaitement*, *appartement*, *département*¹, &c.

In *blanchiment* we have a contraction for *blanchiement*, another form of *blanchoiement* from *blanchoyer*; so *châtiment* for *châtiment*, from *châtier*. *Compartiment*, *sentiment*, are Learned forms for *comparlement* (cf. *département*), *sente-ment*.

The suffixes *-ante* and *-entia* in Latin formed present participles and feminine verbal substantives taken from them: they have become in French *-ant*, *-ance*, and are added to the radicals of verbs. These suffixes are very prolific: *puissant*, *savant*, *puissance*, *créance*, *vengeance*, &c.

5. **-RD-** (*-ard*). The German suffix *-hart* (*hard*, *strong*) has given many proper names: *Meinhart*, *Reginhart*; these proper names have passed into French with the termination *-ard*, which has given rise to derivatives from either (a) Germanic radicals: *Aymard*, *Bernard*, *Guyard*, *Havard*, *Richard*, &c.; or (b) French radicals: *Hachard*, *Denisard*, *Nisard*, *Poupard*, *Vétillard*, &c.

From proper names the suffix has passed to common nouns, and has formed, in combination with either nouns or verbs, substantives which denote: (a) living beings, generally in a disparaging sense: *bavard* (*chatterbox*), *criard*, *fuyard*, *grog-nard*, *mouchard*, *pillard*, *richard*, &c.; or (b) objects: *billard*, *cuissard*, *placard* (*cupboard*, from *plaque*, *panel*), *poignard*, *puisard*, &c.

[The history of this word, as given in the *Dictionnaire Général* of Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas, illustrates excellently the development of the sense of the suffix in question.]

6. **-SM-, -ST-.** *-ismus, -ista*, have been adopted by the Learned formation in the forms *-isme, -iste* (see under Learned Formation, § 322).

The suffix *-aster* indicated, in Latin, an incomplete resemblance with the idea expressed by the radical: *oleaster* (*wild olive*, from *olea, olive*). The suffix has become in French *-astre, -âtre*: *parâtre, marâtre, filiâtre, gentillâtre*. In combination with adjectives it forms especially new adjectives which express a quality kindred to that expressed by the radical (Engl. *-ish*): *bellâtre* (*coarsely handsome*), *blanchâtre* (*whitish*), *bleuâtre, brunâtre, doucéâtre, finâtre* (*inefficiently cunning*), *folâtre* (*skittish*), *jauvâtre, noirâtre, verdâtre*, &c. It has a slightly disparaging value.

CONCLUSION.—We have now reviewed the numerous suffixes that serve to form both nouns and adjectives, classifying them in a purely external and artificial order.

Suffixes are added to the radicals of substantives, adjectives, verbs, or indeclinable words, and by one or other of these combinations give rise to either substantives or adjectives. Of the Latin suffixes some did not outlive the period of Old French, and now only survive in isolated words where they are no longer perceived as suffixes: e.g. *-ail, -ain, -as, -aïson, -is*, &c.; others have lasted as suffixes down to the present day, and are still living: e.g. *-eur* feminine), *-eur* (masculine), *-u, -esse, -ise*, &c. Others again have been developed in the progress of the language: e.g. *-ien*, which has developed from *-anu* preceded by a palatal; and *-el*, which has grown up beside *-al*, from the Latin *-alem*. Some have changed their signification, and hence their function: *-age*, from being a collective suffix, has become the suffix of a noun of action; *-aille*, from being a collective suffix, has become a pejorative.

The chief truly French suffixes derived from Latin suffixes, and used in the Popular formation, are:

-able	-eau, -elle; -ereau,	-il, -ille (see p. 471)
-ade	-erelle	ille (see p. 473)
-age	-eil, -eille	-in, -ine
-agne	-ement	-is (= -ensem,
-aie	-erie	see p. 486, 3)
-ail, -aille	-esque	-is, -isse; -ice, -iche
-ain (from -anum)	-esse (-itia)	(see p. 469, 6)
-ais (-ois)	-esse (-issa)	-ise
-aison	-el, -ette	-oche
-al, -el	-eul, -eul, -eule	-oir, -oire
-ant, -ance	-eur (see p. 478, 22)	-ois
-ande, -andier,	-eur, -eresse, -euse	-ol, -ole
-endière	(see p. 478, 23)	-on
-ard, -arde	-eux, -euse (see p.	-ot, -otte
-as, -asse	481, 26)	-ouil
-at	-ey	-té
-âtre	-ien, -ienne	-u
-aud, -aude	-ie	-uch-
-ay	-ier, -ière	-ure
-é, -ée	-il (see p. 472)	

Of these suffixes the following are still living, in various degrees:

(a) Forming the names of things, either concrete or abstract: -age, -ance, -ement, -oir, -ure, which are usually added to radicals of verbs; -té, -ée, -esse, -ise, -eur (*verdeur*), -erie, -aille, -ille, -on, -is, -ine, which are added to radicals of nouns (substantive or adjective).

(b) Forming nouns relating to persons (substantive or adjective): -ais, -aise; -ois, -oise; -ant, -ante (-ande); -andier -eau, -elle, -ereau, -erelle, -ard, -arde; -aud, -aude; -eur, -euse; -eux, -euse (*partageux*); -ien, -ienne; -ier, -ière.

(c) Forming adjectives: -able, -al, -el, -âtre -é, -ée; -et, -ette; -eux, -euse (*poudreux*); -in, -ine, -u.

Some of these suffixes may pass from one class to another.

We see how varied is this mode of word-formation, by which the most subtle and delicate shades of thought may be expressed. This fertility of French contrasts with the singular poverty of Germanic derivation.

318. VERB-SUFFIXES.—Verb-derivation may be simple or complex.

Simple derivation is effected with the help of the suffixes *-er*, *-ir*, to form, in general, verbs of the 1st conjugation when the radical is a substantive, and verbs of the 2nd conjugation when the radical is an adjective: *mur*, *murer*; *blanc*, *blanchir*. (See also § 292.)

The derivation is complex when between the radical and the suffix special suffixes are intercalated. Nearly all of these also serve to form nouns, and they add to the verb the same special signification that they give to nouns.

Verbs in *-ailler*: *ferr-ailler* (to fence), *philosoph-ailler*, *rim-ailler*, *touss-ailler*.

Verbs in *-iller*: *brand-iller*, *fend-iller*, *mord-iller* (to nibble), *point-iller*, *saut-iller*.

Verbs in *-ouiller*: *gaz-ouiller* (to warble, from *gazer* = *jaser*, to chat, chatter), *bred-ouiller* (from the Old French *bredeler*, with the same meaning, to gabble, mumble).

Verbs in *-eler*: *dent-eler* (to scallop an edge, from *dent-er*), *saut-eler* (from *saut-er*).

Verbs in *-eter*, *-oter*: *claqu-eter* (to rattle), *craqu-eter*, *marqu-eter*, *crach-oter*, *suf-oter*, *lap-oter*.

Verbs in *-onner*: *chant-onner* (to hum), *griff-onner*, *mâch-onner*.

Verbs in *-asser*: *avoc-asser*, *écriv-asser*, *rév-asser* (to day-dream).

Verbs in *-ocher*: *bav-ocher* (to smudge), *flân-ocher*.

We may add *piét-iner* (to stamp), *pleur-nicher* (to whimper), &c.

Finally we must note the very prolific suffix occurring in the forms *-oyer*, *-ayer*, *-eyer*, or even *-ier*; *char*, *charroyer* (to cart), *charrier* (to float down, of a river carrying ice, or wreckage); *vert*, *verdoyer*; *larme*, *larmoyer*; *net*, *nettoyer*; *onde*, *ondoyer*; *fête*, *festoyer*; *bégue*, *bégayer* (to stammer); *planche*, *plancheier*, &c.

CHAPTER II

LEARNED FORMATION OF WORDS

319. Learned Formation from the Latin and Greek.—320. Modes of composition and derivation in the Learned Formation.

I. LEARNED FORMATION FROM THE LATIN.—321. Borrowings from the Latin.—322. Derivation on the Latin model.—323. Composition on the Latin model.

II. LEARNED FORMATION FROM THE GREEK.—324. Borrowings from the Greek.—325. Derivation on the Greek model.—326. Composition on the Greek model.—327. Conclusion.

319. LEARNED FORMATION FROM THE LATIN AND GREEK.—We have spoken (Book I, § 16) of the history of this Learned formation first from the Latin and then from the Greek, by which a considerable number of words have been borrowed, and introduced into French.

We know on the one hand how the Latin Learned formation first had recourse to Low Latin, that is to mediaeval Latin, at the very origin of the written language; how the words taken from Low Latin increased in number, imperceptibly at first; how they multiplied from the 12th to the 14th century, and finally made quite an invasion in the 15th; how, at that date, the lettered classes, becoming more and more familiar with the writers of ancient Rome, resorted to Classical Latin; how, in the 16th century, a movement of reaction took place, which endeavoured to reduce the borrowing of fresh words, but did not succeed

in suppressing it ; how this still continued, perhaps with more moderation, in the 17th and 18th centuries, and again assumed a more considerable development in the 19th century. Learned formation from the Latin will never cease until the whole Latin vocabulary has passed into French.

On the other hand, in the Middle Ages Greek was unknown, or could no longer be read. When the monks met Greek words in a manuscript they said : *græcum est, non legitur* (*it is Greek, it cannot be read*). It was in the 14th century that its study was revived, first with the help of Latin translations made by the Italians. Bishop Nicole Oresme [d. 1382], councillor of Charles the Fifth, translated the works of Aristotle, and then for the first time appeared such words as *aristocratie, démocratie, monarchie*. This does not imply that they penetrated into general use immediately ; they were mostly confined to works of limited circulation. In the 16th century the knowledge of Greek received considerable development : the great scholars of the Renaissance studied this beautiful language enthusiastically ; and authors like Rabelais introduced Greek terms into their works. On the other hand the Greek terminology, through Latin, entered into the language of science ; and, the Latin being translated into French, Greek words became French. The unprecedented growth of the natural sciences in the 18th century introduced an endless number of Greek words. Words were taken from all sources, in every form, simple or compound, and we find even Greek radicals combined, according to the laws of Greek composition, to form new French words. In some cases Greek prefixes and suffixes were added to Latin or French radicals ; and this enormous mass of foreign words has infused into French modes of word-formation that are contrary to its genius.

The inconveniences of this influx will be shown below : we only note here that this learned language for the most

part remains foreign to those who are unacquainted with Latin. The common people, who can only speak a language that they understand, ignore it, or, if they adopt some of its terms, approximate them to the words they know, by the most singular distortions. Thus *définition* is turned into a synonym of *fin*: *un travail qui n'a pas de définition* (an endless piece of work); *délibérer* is used as an equivalent of *libérer*: *un homme délibéré du service* (a man freed from military service). The words are distorted, not only in meaning, but also in outward form: *le carbonate* (sc. of soda) becomes *de la carbonade*; *le strapontin* (small front-seat of a brougham) becomes *le serpent*; *le diabète* is changed into *diabète*; *le laudanum* into *lait d'ânon*; *la goutte sciatique* (sciatic gout) into *goutte asiatique*¹, &c. This is called popular etymology. The common people—and for this they are not to be blamed—cannot bring themselves to repeat words that they do not understand; they must make out a connexion in some way or other between these words and those with which they are familiar. However, the vulgar as well as the literary language is growing more and more permeated with these Learned words.

320. MODES OF COMPOSITION AND DERIVATION IN THE LEARNED FORMATION.—The modes of composition and derivation which the Learned language has introduced into the Popular language rest on the following principle. *Each new French word created by Learned formation is produced on a Latin or a Greek type, either real or artificially created.*

Thus *corporel*, *sébacé*, *tangible*, represent the real Latin types *corporalis*, *sebaceus*, *tangibilis*, carried directly into the Learned language. On the contrary, *caudal*, *crustacé*, *explosible*, correspond to artificial types *caudalis*, *crustaceus*, *explosibilis*, taken from the simple Latin words

¹ [Compare our vulgar English *sparrow-grass*, for *asparagus*.]

cauda, *crusta*, *explosus*. *Fabuliste* is not derived from *fable*, but from a Latin type *fabulista*, artificially derived from *fabula*.

So also with compounds. In forming a compound signifying 'bee-culture,' Latin gives *apis* for *bee*, and *cultura* for *culture*; the Latin compound would be *api-cultura* on the type of *agricultura*; *api-cultura* is therefore transferred to French in the form of *apiculture*.

The same principle applies to Greek: on the types of *amaurôsis* (*dim-sight*), taken from *amauros* (*dim*), and *arthrôsis* (*articulation*), taken from *arthros* (*a joint*), &c., the Learned formation has created with *neuron* (*nerve*) the word *neurôsis* and rendered it by *névrose*. With the two words *osteon* (*bone*) and *lithos* (*stone*) Greek might have formed *osteolithos*; it is this compound lawfully coined by the moderns that has become the French *ostéolithe* (*petrified bone*).

I. Learned Formation from the Latin.

321. BORROWINGS FROM THE LATIN.—Borrowings from the Latin form the most considerable part of the learned vocabulary of French. It is unnecessary to give examples. We shall only quote Latin words (both from Classical and Low Latin) which have passed unchanged into French without the slightest attempt to gallicize them: *ab irato*, *ab intestat* (for *ab intestato*), *ad libitum*, *ad patres*, *ad unguem*, *ad valorem*, *a fortiori*, *a priori*, *a posteriori*, *Ave Maria*, *benedicite*, *caput mortuum*, *credo*, *cruor*, *deleatur*, *ecce homo*, *ex professo*, *ex cathedra*, *ex voto*, *fac simile*, *impromptu*, *oremus*, *quolibet*, *rossolis*, *semper vivens*, *semen-contra*, *Te Deum*, *tu autem*, *vice versa*, *vertex*, &c.

We shall quote more borrowings from compounds with particles (§ 323, 2).

322. DERIVATION ON THE LATIN MODEL.—We give the list of the more important Latin suffixes transferred into French:—

1. Noun-suffixes:

- ium, used in chemistry: *aluminium, potassium, sodium*.
- ious, French *-ique*, forms adjectives: *chimique, ferrique* (this is difficult to distinguish from the Greek suffix *-ikos*, p. 501).
- aeus, -eus, French *-acé, -acée, -ée*, indicates the organic orders and families of the animal and vegetable kingdoms: *liliacées, lilites; renonculacées, renonculées; crustacés*. The plural is used to designate the group, the singular a member thereof.
- alis takes the same forms in Learned derivation as in Popular derivation: *-al, -ial, and -el, -iel; caudal, pictural, abbatial; additionnel, juridictionnel*.
- tudo, French *-tude*: *décrépitude, exactitude, longitude, platitude*.
- ulum, French *-ule*, forms diminutives: *ovule, pilule*; with an intercalated syllable *-io-*: *clavicule, théâtricule*.
- ianus, -iana, French *-ien, -ienne*, a suffix of Popular origin adopted by the Learned formation (see p. 474), added especially to the radicals of words ending in *-ique*: *logique, logicien; rhétorique, rhétoricien*; also *acarien, batracien, &c.*
- arius, French *-aire*. *-Aire* is the Learned form of the Popular suffix *-ier* (21, p. 477): *égalitaire, humanitaire, prolétaire*.
- ationem, French *-ation*, replaces the Popular suffix *-aison* of the same origin: *dérivation, formation, organisation* (see p. 476).
- atorem, French *-ateur*, replaces the Popular suffix *-eur* of the same origin (see p. 478): *aspirateur, organisateur*. Compare the two derivatives *fleur, filateur* (spinner), from *filer*.
- atorium, French *-atoire*: *accusatoire, blasphématoire*. The language had lost the power of forming adjectives with the help of the suffix *-oir, -oire*, of the same origin (see p. 480), and could only form substantives, mascu-

line or feminine: *fermoir*, *écumoire*. The Learned language has re-introduced the adjective.

-atura, French **-ature**, tends to replace the Popular form **-ure** (see p. 481): *courbature*, *filature*, *ossature* (the bony framework of the body).

-atum, **-at**, corresponds to the Popular suffix **-é** (see p. 481): *externat*, *internat*, *volontariat*.

-itatem, French **-ité**: *amovibilité*, *culpabilité*. From *amable* the Popular language had derived *amableté* (see p. 482). The Learned language reintroduced the Latin form: *amabilité*.

-entem, **-entia**, French **-ent**, **-ence**. These suffixes, in the Popular language, had become **-ant**, **-ance** (see p. 487). The Learned language reintroduced the Latin vowel *o*: *imminent*, *imminence*; *prudent*, *prudence*.

-iosus, French **-esque**, through the Italian **-esco**. The Italian suffix, introduced into French in the words *danlesque*, *grotesque*, *pittoresque*, gives also new derivatives: *Aristophanesque*, *Moliéresque*.

-ismus, **-ista**, French **-isme**, **-iste**. These suffixes indicate respectively abstract notions or doctrines, and the partisans of these notions or doctrines: *christianisme*, *royalisme*, *déisme*, *athéisme*, *journalisme*; *royaliste*, *déiste*, *journaliste*. Words in **-isme** may exist without corresponding terms in **-iste**, and vice versa: *mysticisme*, *spécialiste*; and even when both forms occur they may not correspond with one another: thus *naturaliste* has nothing necessarily in common with *naturalisme*¹.

2. Verb-suffixes.—These are (i) the suffix **-er**, often preceded by *i*: *transfuser*, *conférencier* (to give a lecture, conference); and (ii) the suffix **-iser**: *général*, *généraliser*.

¹ [*Naturaliste* originally meant a student of nature, the Eng. *naturalist*; *naturalisme* the doctrine of the school of novelists who aimed at portraying nature with scientific truth. Quite recently *naturaliste* has gained a second meaning as an adjective corresponding to *naturalisme*: *romancier naturaliste*.]

323. COMPOSITION ON THE LATIN MODEL.—The Learned mode of composition naturally reproduces the Latin mode of formation of compounds, whether by introducing into French a real Latin compound (e. g. *agriculture*), or by combining two Latin words according to Latin laws and transferring this artificial product into French.

Learned composition combines (1) words with words ; (2) words with particles.

1. *Compounds of words.*—These include substantives or adjectives formed (a) of an adjective and substantive : *multicolore, multiforme* ; (b) of two adjectives : *uniréfringent* ; (c) of an adverb and an adjective : *bicarboné* ; (d) of two substantives : *aqueduc, viaduc, fulmicoton* (*gun-cotton*), *cunéiforme* ; (e) of a substantive and a verb radical (these being very numerous) : *régicide, viticole, fumivore* (*smoke-consuming*), *calorifère*.

We may also class here the verbs in *-ifier* and *-éfier* compounded of a noun (substantive or adjective) and a verb. Verbs in *-ifier* correspond with Latin verbs in *-ificare* : *sanotificare, sanctifier, versificare, versifier* ; their derivatives end in *-ificateur, -ification* (*versificateur, versification*). Verbs in *-éfier* come from Latin verbs in *-facere* : *liquefacere, liquéfier* ; *stupefacere, stupéfier* ; *torrefacere, torréfier* (*to roast coffee, &c.*) ; their derivatives end in *-efacteur, -efaction* (*liquéfacteur, liquéfaction*).

2. *Compounds with particles.*—Composition with particles has reintroduced in an almost entirely Latin form certain particles, some of which had been lost in French, while others had been preserved in the Popular formation, but under more or less modified forms.

Ab Borrowings : *abdiquer, aberration, ab sorber, &c.*

New compounds : *abducteur, ablégat.*

Ad Borrowings : *adapter, addition, applaudir.*

New compound : *adducteur.*

- Ante or Anti-** Borrowings : *antécédent, antépénultième*.
New compounds : *antichambre, antidater, antédiluvien*.
- Circum** Borrowings : *circonférence, circonvenir*.
New compounds : *circumpolaire, circumnavigation*.
- Cis (this side of)** Borrowings : *cispadan, cisrhéna, &c.*
New compound : *cisleithan*.
- Cum** Most Latin words beginning with *cum* (*oom-, oon-, oor-, ool-, oo-*) have been reintroduced into French, and new formations have further increased the endless list of these Learned compounds : *commensal, construire, convenir, correspondre, coefficient, codétenu, &c.*
- Contra** Borrowing : *contradiction*.
New compound : *contravention* (in Latin *contraveniens* is found).
- De** Borrowings : *décerner, déclarer*.
- Dis-, di-** Borrowings : *dilapider, divulguer, dispenser, disputer*.
New compounds : *disconvenir, discuter, discréditer*.
- E, Ex** Borrowings : *excellence, exposer, éliminer, énumérer*.
New compounds which are becoming popular : *ex-ministre, ex-préfet*.
- Extra** Borrowings : *extraordinaire, extravagant*.
New compounds : *extra-judiciaire, extra-fin, extra-légal, &c.* *Extra* has become a substantive in the popular speech : *faire un extra (to make something extra)*.
- In (Eng. in)** Borrowings : *illustrer, implorer*.
New compounds : *infiltrer, injecter ; in-folio, in-dix-huit (18mo)*.

- In- (negative)** Borrowings: *injuste, inexorable*. This prefix at the present day forms an immense number of negative adjectives of which the corresponding simple words often no longer exist: *inextinguible, implacable, &c.*; *extinguible, placable*, do not exist.
- Inter** Borrowings: *intercaler, intercéder*.
New compounds: *international, interocéanique, &c.*
- Intra** Borrowing: *intrinsèque*.
New compounds: *intra-marginal, intra-tropical, &c.*
- Intro-** Borrowing: *introduire*.
New compound: *intromission*.
- Ob** Borrowings: *observer, occulte, opprimer*.
New compounds: *objectif, obovale*.
- Pæne (nearly)** Borrowing: *péninsule*.
New compound: *pénombre*.
- Per** Borrowings: *perfection, perforer, persévérer*.
New compounds: *persifler, perspective, persécuter*.
- Post** Borrowings: *post-scriptum, posthume*.
New compounds: *post-dater, post-posér*.
- Prae** Borrowings: *précéder, prédestiner*.
New compounds: *prédominer, prédisposer, préhistorique*.
- Praeter** Borrowings: *prétérir, prétérition*.
- Pro** Borrowings: *procéder, produire*.
New compounds: *proéminence, protubérance*. In the 16th century, in certain Popular compounds, *pour* was changed into *pro* under Learned influence: *pourmener, promener; pourfil, profil*.

Quasi (almost)	New compounds: <i>quasi-contrat</i> , <i>quasi-fou</i> .
Ré-	belongs to the Learned language when it has the acute accent: <i>réformer</i> , <i>répression</i> , <i>réorganiser</i> (see p. 428).
Retro	Borrowings: <i>rétroagir</i> , <i>rétrograder</i> . New derivatives: <i>rétroactif</i> , <i>rétrogradation</i> , &c.
Sub	Borrowings: <i>subjuguier</i> , <i>subsister</i> . New compounds: <i>subdiviser</i> , <i>subordonner</i> .
Satis (enough)	Borrowing: <i>satisfaire</i> , whence <i>satisfaction</i> .
Super	Borrowings: <i>superficie</i> , <i>superflu</i> . New compounds: <i>superfin</i> , <i>superposer</i> .
Supra	New compounds: <i>supra-sensible</i> , <i>supra-terrestre</i> .
Trans	Borrowings: <i>transférer</i> , <i>transformer</i> . New compounds: <i>transalpin</i> , <i>transfuser</i> .
Ultra	has only formed one real compound, <i>ultramontain</i> , but it is tending to become popular: <i>ultra-royaliste</i> .
Vice	New compounds: <i>vice-amiral</i> , <i>vice-roi</i> .

We may add: *bene* (*bénédiction*), *male* (*malédiction*), and the numeral adverbs *bis*, *tri*-, *quadri*-, *quinti*-, in *bisannuel*, *bivalve*, *trifolié*, &c.

These examples show the extent of this Learned formation, which is slowly disorganizing the popular speech¹.

¹ In practical instruction in French this fact may at least be turned to good account in dealing with pupils who are ignorant of Latin; for the words of Learned formation familiar to the pupils may usefully do duty for the unknown Latin words. In historical French grammar Latin is requisite in discussing questions of origin. Now, it often happens that the primitive Latin type is to be found intact in some Learned derivative and can be quoted instead of the Latin: *frêle* comes from the Latin *fragilis*,

II. Learned Formation from the Greek.

This includes borrowings from the Greek and the formation of derivatives and compounds from Greek words.

324. BORROWINGS FROM THE GREEK.—The list of words borrowed direct from Greek is very considerable.

We give only a few examples with the initial *a*: *acaléphe*, *acéphale*, *adynamie*, *agarie*, *agiologie*, *aloès*, *alopécie*, *amaurose*, *amorphe*, *anacoluthie*, *analyse*, *androgynie*, *anémie*, *anilhère*, *aorte*, *aphasie*, *aphérèse*, *aphonie*, *apocryphe*, *apologie*, *aponevrose*, *apophthegme*, *apoplexie*, *apostrophe*, *aptère*, *apyrexie*, *arthrite*, *asphyxie*, *atonie*, &c.

325. DERIVATION ON THE GREEK MODEL.—Suffixes taken from Greek are not very numerous :

-ia (*-ia*), French *-ie*, which has merged with the suffix *-ie* of Latin origin (§ 315), gives, with the help of prefixes, parasynthetic nouns: *pétale*, *apétalie* (absence of petals).

-ique (*-ikos*) is distinguished from the suffix of Latin origin *-ique* by its being always preceded by the syllable *-at*: *arome*, *aromatique*.

-ose (*-osis*). On the type of *amaurose* doctors have created new derivatives in *-ose*: *gastrose*, *névrose*, &c., denoting morbid affections.

-itis (*-itis*), French *-ite*. On the type of *arthrite*, *néphrite*, doctors have created feminine words in *-ite*: *bronchite*, *pharyngite*, in which *-ite* indicates inflammation.

-ites (*-ites*), French *-ite*. On the type of *malachite*, *pyrite*, mineralogists have created masculines in *-ite* to designate minerals: *anthracite*, *granite*, *lignite*, &c.

This suffix has been extended into chemistry to designate salts: *sulfites*; analogy with the Latin word *muriatum* (*sea-salt*) caused the creation of the suffix *-ate* to designate more oxygenated salts: *sulfate*.

represented by *fragile*; *meuble* from *mobilis*, preserved in *mobile*; *mûr* from *maturus*, preserved in the derivative *maturité* (Latin *maturitatem*), &c.

326. COMPOSITION ON THE GREEK MODEL.—Words are combined according to this mode of formation either (i) with other words, or (ii) with particles.

(i) *Compounds of words.*—These are innumerable. We may divide them generally into two groups: in the first (a) certain words play the part of prefixes or determinants; in the second (b) certain other words play the part of suffixes or determinates. They are either substantives or adjectives.

(a) *Anthropo-logie, -métrie; chrono-mètre, -scope; crypto-carpe, -gramme, -graphie; électro-aimant, -chimique, -dynamique, -graphe, -lyse, -lyte, -mètre, -phore, -scope, -thérapie; gastr-algie, -encéphalite, gastro-cèle, -logie, -thoracique, &c.* We may mention also as important prefixes: *hémato-, héli-, hydro-, méso-, ostéo-, paléo-, photo-, pseudo-, thermo-, &c.*

(b) *Céphal-, névr-, odont-, ophthalm-algie; aristo-, démo-, pluto-cratie; anthropo-, auto-, épi-, héli-, holo-, paléontographie.* We may also quote as important suffixes: *-logue, -logie, -logique; -manie, -mane; -mètre, -métrie, -métrique; -morphie, -morphisme; -oïde; -orama; -scope, -scopie, &c.*

Many of the compounds of this kind are not at all well formed: e.g. *hydro-gène, oxy-gène*; for *-gène* in Greek compounds does not signify 'producing,' but 'born' (cf. *Eu-gène* = well born); again *hectomètre, kilomètre*, should be *hécatomètre, chiliomètre*.

Others are hybrids in whose formation Latin and Greek radicals have been united: *déci-mètre, centi-mètre, milli-mètre*¹; also a host of words ending in *-algie, -game, -logie, -manie, &c.*, or beginning with *philo-, néo-, pseudo-, &c.* These Greek elements have become, as it were, fully

¹ *Décimètre, centimètre, millimètre*, are even doubly anomalous, since the Latin radicals, *déci-, centi-, milli-*, are not only combined with a Greek word, but are made to mean *a tenth, a hundredth, a thousandth*, instead of *ten, a hundred, a thousand*.

naturalized; and from this has resulted the creation of such words as *bureaucratie* from the purely French *bureau* and the termination *-cratie*, the French form of the Greek *krataia*.

Finally, we must note those compounds consisting of two components, Latin or French, in which the vowel *o*, belonging to Greek composition, is added to the radical of the first component: *franco-anglais*, *gallo-romain*, *austro-hongrois*, &c.¹

(ii) *Compounds with particles* :

1. **Δ-**, privative; **an-**, before a vowel (cf. the Latin *in-*).—
Borrowings: *abîme*, *acatalepsie*, *acéphale*, *agalactie*, *amorphe*, *apathie*, *aepsie*, *aphonie*, *asphyxie*, *ataraxie*, *athée*, *atome*, *atonie*, *atrophie*; *anarchie*, *anomal*, *anonyme*, &c.

New compounds: *achromatique*, *acotylédone*, *anéroïde*, *apétalie*, *apode*, *althermane*, *atone*, *asole*; *anaryen*, *anesthésie*, *amurie*.

2. **Amphi-**. Borrowings: *amphibie*, *amphibologie*, *amphibraque*, *amphithéâtre*.

New compounds: *amphiptère*, *amphiarthrose*.

3. **Ανα-**. Borrowings: *anabaptiste*, *anachorète*, *anacolutha*, *anagramme*, *analogie*, *analyse*, *anathème*, *anatomie*.

New compounds: *anamorphique*, *anasarque*.

4. **Αντι-**. Borrowings: *antagoniste*, *antarctique*, *antichrèse*, *antidote*, *antinomie*, *antipathie*, *antiphrase*, *antipodes*.

New compounds: *antipyrétique*, *antipyrine*, *antiseptique*, *antispasmodique*; added to French words: *antichrétien*, *antimonarchique*; *anticonstitutionnel*, *antisocial*.

In the latter kind of compounds, in which it tends to become popular in use, *anti-* mostly forms *parasynthetic*s: *anti-monarch-ique* signifies 'what is (*-ique*)

¹ *Héroï-comique*, *tragi-comique*, are formed on the same principle; but the connecting vowel is here *i* and not *o*.

against (*anti-*) monarchy.' So with the following words: *anti-divin*, *anti-évangélique*, *anti-humain*, *anti-naturel*, *anti-patriotique*, *anti-scientifique*, *anti-scorbutique*, *anti-systématique*.

In some words, also, *anti-* retains its adverbial value: *anti-nature*, *anti-pape* (*Anti-Pope*). Sometimes even it represents a preposition pure and simple: *Dentifrice anti-carie*.

5. **Apo-** Borrowings: *aphérèse*, *apocalypse*, *apocope*, *apocryphe*, *apogée*, *apologie*, *apologue*, *apophyse*, *apoplexie*, *apothéose*, *apostasie*, *apostrophe*, &c.

New compounds: *aphélie*, *apophonie* (= German *Ablaut*), *apothémè*, &c.

6. **Archi-** Borrowings: *archiâtre*, *archidiacre*, *archiman-drile*, *archilecte*.

New compounds: *archiduc*, *archiprêtre*, &c.

This particle is also used in the Modern language with the value of an augmentative, particularly with adjectives of an unfavourable signification, and forms such words as *archi-bête*, *archi-fou*, *archi-vilain*, &c. It is even added to participles, as in the following remarkable sentence of Töpfer (*Voyages en Zig-zag*, II, 1^{re} j.): 'C'est qu'elle nous est *archi-* et superconnue.' Here *archi-* has the value of a superlative.

7. **Cata-** Borrowings: *catachrèse*, *cataclysme*, *catalectique*, *catalepsie*, *catalogue*, *cataplasme*, *cataracte*, *catarrhè*, *calastrophe*, *catéchisme*, *cathéchumène*, *catégorie*, *catholique*, &c.

New compounds: *catapétale*, *catacaustique*, &c.

8. **Dia-** Borrowings: *diabète*, *diadème*, *diagnostique*, *dialecte*, *dialogue*, *diamètre*, *diaphane*, *diaphragme*, *diarrhée*, *diarthrose*, &c.

New compounds: *diacaustique*, *diacoustique*, *diapason*, &c.

9. **Dis-** or **di-** Borrowings: *dissyllabe*, *distique*; *diglyphe*, *dilemme*, *dimètre*, &c.

New compounds: *distyle, dispondée, diandrie, diacie, dièdre, &c.*

10. **Dys-**. Borrowings: *dyscole, dysenterie, dyspepsie, dysurie, &c.*

New compounds: *dyslalie, dysopie, dyspnée.*

11. **Ec-, ex** before vowels (cf. in Latin *e, ex*). Borrowings: *ecchymose, eclectique, éclipse, eczéma; exanthème, exarque, exégèse, &c.*

New compound: *ecdémique.*

12. **En-**. Borrowings: *encéphale, encyclique, énergie, énergumène, enthousiasme, enthymème; emblème, embolisme, embryon, emphase, emphytéose, emplâtre, empyrée, &c.*

New compounds: *enchorique, enostose, emmésostome, emmorphose, &c.*

13. **Endo-**. Borrowing: *endogène.*

New compounds: *endobranche, endocarpe, endocéphale, endoderme, endogone, endosmose, &c.*

14. **Ento-**.

New compound: *ento-zoaire.*

15. **Épi-**. Borrowings: *épacte, épenthèse, éphèbe, éphémère, éphialte, épïcène, épichérème, épidémie, épiderme, épigastre, épigramme, épigraphie, épilepsie, épilogue, Épiphanie, épisode, épithalame, épithète, épode, époque, &c.*

New compounds: *épicycle, épigénésie, épilaryngien, épinème, épizootie, &c.*

16. **Eu-**. Borrowings: *eucharistie, Euménides, Eugène, eufraise, évangile, Évergète, &c.*

New compounds: *euchrôme, euchylie.*

17. **Exo-**. Borrowings: *exocet (flying-fish), exomphale, exotérique.*

New compounds: *exogène, exhorrise.*

18. **Hyper-**. Borrowings: *hyperbole, hypermètre, &c.*

New compounds: *hyperboréen, hypercritique, hypertrophie, &c.*

In chemical nomenclature this prefix is used,

and often confused with *per*, as in *hyperchlorure* or *perchlorure*.

19. **Hypo-**. Borrowings: *hypallage*, *hyphen*, *hypocondre*, *hypocrite*, *hypogastre*, *hypoténuse*, *hypothèque*, *hypothèse*, *hypotypose* (*word-picture*), &c.

New compounds: *hyphémie*, *hypophylle*, &c.

In chemical nomenclature this suffix has an important place: *hypoaxotique*, &c.

20. **Is-**. The Greek particle *is* is hardly to be found save in the word *ép-is-ode*.

21. **Meta-**. Borrowings: *métabole*, *métamorphose*, *métaplasme*, *métathèse*, *métempsychose*, *météore*, *méthode*, *métonymie*, &c.

New compounds: *métacentre*, *métagramme*, *méthyl-ique*, *métaphysique*.

22. **Palin-**. Borrowings: *palimpseste*, *palingénésie*, *palinodie*, &c.

New compound: *palimbacchique*.

23. **Para-**. Borrowings: *parabole*, *paradigme*, *paradoxe*, *paragraphe*, *Paralipomènes*, *parallèle*, *paralyse*, *parasite*, &c.

New compounds: *parachronisme*, *paracentrique*, *paraplexie*, &c.

In the new words *paramagnétisme* and *paramagnétique*, the particle *para-* signifies 'parallel.'

24. **Péri-**. Borrowings: *périanthe*, *péricarpe*, *périgée*, *périmètre*, *période*, *périoste*, *péripalétique*, *péripétie*, *périphrase*, *périple*, *péripneumonie*, *péristyle*, *péritoine*, &c.

New compounds: *périchondre*, *péricolpité*, *périderme*, *périgone*, *périhélie*.

We may add the grammatical term *périphonie*, a very awkward rendering of the German *Umlaut*.

25. **Pro-**. Borrowings: *problème*, *proboscide*, *prodrome*, *programme*, *prolégomènes*, *prologue*, *pronostic*, *prophète*, *prolase*, *prothèse*, &c.

New compounds: *prognathe*, &c. —

26. **Pros.** Borrowings: *prosélyte*, *prosodie*, *proslase*, *prosthèse*, &c.

New compound: *prosenchyme*.

27. **Syn.** Borrowings: *syllabe*, *syllèpse*, *sylogisme*, *symbole*, *symétrie*, *sympathie*, *symphonie*, *symptôme*, *synagogue*, *synallage*, *synchronisme*, *syncope*, *syncrétisme*, *syndic*, *synecdoque*, *synode*, *synonyme*, *synoptique*, *syntaxe*, *synthèse*, *système*, *syzygie*, &c.

New compounds: *sympétalique*, *sympode*, *synanthé*, *synclinal*, &c.

The derivatives from these compounds are generally formed on the model of corresponding Greek derivatives: thus *démocratie* gives *démocratique*. When the Greek word has entered completely into the language, it may receive a French suffix: *syndic* gives *syndical*. Compare *syntactique* and *syntaxique*, the one derived from the Greek adjective, the other from the French word *syntaxe*.

327. **CONCLUSION.**—From the point of view of the purity of the language we may deplore the introduction of these Greek and Latin formations which are disorganizing French. From the point of view of civilization we must consider it as a beneficent and necessary fact. The Learned Latin formation corresponded to the movement of Latin civilization in the Middle Ages. For ancient France, progress consisted in arresting the invasions of the Barbarians, in crushing feudalism, and bringing about the triumph of the Roman principles of unity of administration and unity of law. This renewal of the past of Imperial Rome, and the successive triumphs of the monarchy and of the legists over the feudal nobles and customary law, brought with them the revival of the Latin language. Later on, at the end of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance revived both Latin and Greek culture, which introduced a multitude of ancient ideas and ancient terms into the current of general life. Great writers went to the masterpieces

of Athens and Rome for the inspiration of their matter, and to the beautiful language of Cicero, Livy, and Virgil for their form of expression.

On the other hand, during the Modern Period, the triumph of science has brought about the triumph of the Greek language. Greek, owing to the peculiar circumstances of its history, and to its combination of qualities of the highest order, became the language of science. As science belongs to all nations, and is universal, it requires a terminology that shall be no more French than English or German. This is why the Greek supremacy in this domain was inevitable. In this struggle between science, the universal factor, and individual languages, each a factor peculiar to a limited group of men, the victory remains with science.

CHAPTER III

BORROWINGS FROM FOREIGN LANGUAGES

328. Words of foreign origin.—329. Borrowings from the Celtic.—330. Borrowings from the Greek.—331. Borrowings from the Germanic.—332. Borrowings from the Slavonic.—333. Borrowings from Romance languages.—334. Borrowings from Oriental languages.—335. Cant terms (*argot*)¹ and onomatopoeias.

328. WORDS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN.—In the Introduction (Book I), we have already pointed out the influence on the French vocabulary exercised at each period of the language by various foreign languages, and first of all by the Celtic and Germanic tongues, which left some traces, the former

¹ [The French word '*argot*,' often rendered by the English '*slang*,' is not equivalent to the usual meaning of this term, as comprising the colloquialisms of everyday life, which are rarely admitted into literary use. '*Argot*' is used to designate the terms peculiar to the vocabulary of criminals, tramps, &c., living outside the pale of our official civilization, and is best rendered by 'cant terms.']

on the language of the conquering Romans, the latter on this speech, when it was adopted later by the conquering Franks. To these ancient elements must be added certain Greek words introduced into Gallo-Romanic through popular use, and some Hebrew and Arabic words which were terms of religion or science, or of industry or commerce. We have noted the importation of Spanish, and still more of Italian, words in the 16th century; the invasion of English, from the end of the 18th century; and finally, in the 19th century, the unbounded extension of the neologism, which borrows its modes of expression from any and every source.

Before studying in detail the influence of each of these foreign languages on French, we must recall a law to which exotic words are all subject. They all, in time, lose more or less of their own physiognomy, changing their pronunciation, if not their spelling, and so end in complete assimilation with French. Thus the Old High German word *marahskalk*, passing through Popular Latin, became *mariscalcus*, and thence the French *mareschal*, *maréchal*. The French word *redingote* represents the English word *riding-coat*, modified in its orthography and pronunciation. Though the word *wagon* is written with the *w* of the original language, it is pronounced *vagon*. Thus every word of foreign origin gradually loses its national character and becomes naturalized¹.

329. BORROWINGS FROM THE CELTIC.—The first language that Latin met in Gaul was Celtic, which it suppressed (Book I, § 6). Celtic has undoubtedly left numerous traces in geographical names (Book II, § 129). There is, however, nowadays a tendency to seek in many names which

¹ [A French word borrowed by a foreign language may again be taken by French in its foreign form: e.g. *tunnel* (O. F. *tonnel*), *budget* (O. F. *bougette*, *purse*). The English *ticket*, derived from the French *étiquette*, was reintroduced in 1878 as the official name for the tickets of admission to the Paris Exhibition; it is pronounced *tiké*.]

cannot be reduced to Celtic elements words of those older languages that the Gauls found on the soil of Gaul, when, coming from Germany, they extended their empire to the Atlantic.

Amongst French words of common speech we may count some forty of Celtic origin, some of which had previously passed into Latin and assumed a Latin garb. Of the few hundreds of Gaulish words quoted by the ancients, very few are found in the Gallo-Romanic Popular Language: *alanda*, O. F. *aloe*, which has remained in its diminutive *alonette*; *arepennia*, *arpent*; *becous*, *bec*; *betulla*, *boule* (whence *bouleau*); *braca*, *braie*; *carrum*, *char*; *cervisia*, *cervoise*; *margila* (derived from *marga*, O. F. *marle*, Mod. F. *marne*).

There are about thirty or forty words, some common to the other Romance languages, others limited to French, which cannot be traced back to any Latin or Germanic radical, but of which the Celtic roots may be easily found; these we are justified in regarding as Gaulish: *bouge*, *brouil* (*covert*), *bruyère*, *chai*, *clais* (*hurdle*, &c.), *drille*, *dru*, *gale*, *grève*, *musser*, *pièce*, *quai*, *ruche*, *tamis*, *vergne*, &c.

To these ancient words may be added words introduced more recently from the Bas Breton: *biniau* (*bag-pipe*), *darne*, *dolmen*, *goëland* (*sea-gull*), *menhir*, &c.

330. BORROWINGS FROM THE GREEK.—Greek words which have come through the Popular Language are not numerous. Some have passed into French through Latin, by which they had been previously adopted: Gr. *episcopos*, Lat. *episcopus*, Fr. *évêque*; Gr. *monachos*, Lat. *monachus*, Fr. *moine*. Others are words of Low or Byzantine Greek, introduced into mediaeval Latin or French through the commercial and political relations that united the West with the East from the 9th to the 11th century: Gr. *apotheki*, Low Gr. *botheki*, Fr. *boutique*; *hemiorania*, Low Gr. *migrania*, *migraines*; *besant* (a Byzan-

tine coin); *cable*, O. F. *caable*, *chaable* (a certain engine of war), whence *accabler* (*to overwhelm*).

331. BORROWINGS FROM THE GERMANIC.—In the 6th century Germanic invasion modified the face of Western Europe, and in a certain measure its languages also.

In Gaul the first invasion began with Clovis and was continued down to the time of Dagobert; it was that of the Neustrian Franks, who came from Flanders.

A little later, under the rule of the Mayors of the Palace, a fresh invasion of the Austrasian Franks, who came from the Rhine Provinces, strengthened the Germanic stock in the East, for it was already romanized in Neustria. This invasion lasted until the time of Charlemagne.

Thus came in two series of Germanic words, the first belonging to a Low-Frankish dialect between the 6th and the 7th century, the second belonging to a High-Frankish dialect, between the 7th and the 9th century.

In the 9th century the Danes (*Northmen*) brought many Norse words into the region called Normandy after them¹. Of these words a great number were preserved as geographical terms, and some passed into the common speech.

The Germanic words which thus passed into French under the Merovingians and Carolingians at three distinct periods are fairly numerous; the more ancient are common to various Romance languages, while others are peculiar to French.

SUBSTANTIVES.

<i>agace</i>	<i>aigrette</i>	<i>amarre</i>	<i>auberge</i>
<i>agrafe</i>	<i>alleu</i>	<i>anche</i>	<i>aune</i>
<i>agrès</i>	<i>alise</i>	<i>arroir</i>	<i>avarie</i>

¹ Norse, or Nordic, is the primitive language of the Scandinavian peoples; it has been preserved almost intact in Icelandic. In course of time it was changed into Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish. Norse is related to Low-German.

<i>bac</i>	<i>caille</i>	<i>éclisse</i>	<i>fourrage</i>
<i>balle</i>	<i>cane</i>	<i>écot</i>	<i>fourreau</i>
<i>ban</i>	<i>canif</i>	<i>écrevisse</i>	<i>fourrier</i>
<i>banc</i>	<i>caque</i>	<i>écume</i>	<i>framboise</i>
<i>bande</i>	<i>carcan</i>	<i>écurie</i>	<i>fresange</i>
<i>baudrier</i>	<i>chaloupe</i>	<i>élingue</i>	<i>fret</i>
<i>bedeau</i>	<i>chambellan</i>	<i>émail</i>	<i>frimas</i>
<i>beffroi</i>	<i>chouette</i>	<i>émoi</i>	<i>froc</i>
<i>beignet</i>	<i>clinquant</i>	<i>empan</i>	
<i>bélier</i>	<i>coiffe</i>	<i>épeiche</i>	<i>gabelle</i>
<i>berme</i>	<i>cotte</i>	<i>éperon</i>	<i>gaffe</i>
<i>bief</i>	<i>crabe</i>	<i>épervier</i>	<i>gage</i>
<i>bière</i>	<i>crampe</i>	<i>épois</i>	<i>gal</i>
<i>bille</i>	<i>crampon</i>	<i>escrime</i>	<i>gant</i>
<i>bitte</i>	<i>crèche</i>	<i>esquif</i>	<i>garenne</i>
<i>bliant</i>	<i>crémaillère</i>	<i>est (east)</i>	<i>garou</i>
<i>bloc</i>	<i>crique</i>	<i>esturgeon</i>	<i>gâteau</i>
<i>bois</i>	<i>croupe</i>	<i>étal</i>	<i>gauchoir</i>
<i>bord</i>		<i>étangue</i>	<i>gaude</i>
<i>bosse</i>	<i>dard</i>	<i>élapé</i>	<i>gaufre</i>
<i>bot</i>	<i>désarroï</i>	<i>étau</i>	<i>gaule</i>
<i>boulevard</i>	<i>digue</i>	<i>étolfe</i>	<i>gazon</i>
<i>bourg</i>	<i>dragon</i>	<i>étrier</i>	<i>gerbe</i>
<i>bout</i>	<i>drague</i>	<i>étuve</i>	<i>gerfaut</i>
<i>braise</i>	<i>drèche</i>		<i>gonfanon</i>
<i>brandon</i>	<i>drogue</i>	<i>falaise</i>	<i>grappe</i>
<i>braque</i>	<i>dune</i>	<i>fanon</i>	<i>grès</i>
<i>brèche</i>		<i>fard</i>	<i>grimace</i>
<i>brelan</i>	<i>écaille</i>	<i>faucon</i>	<i>groseille</i>
<i>brette</i>	<i>échafaud</i>	<i>fauteuil</i>	<i>groupe</i>
<i>brodequin</i>	<i>échanson</i>	<i>fentre</i>	<i>gruau</i>
<i>broués</i>	<i>écharpe</i>	<i>fief</i>	<i>guerdon</i>
<i>brouet</i>	<i>échasse</i>	<i>flan</i>	<i>guerre</i>
<i>bru</i>	<i>échevin</i>	<i>flaque</i>	<i>guet</i>
<i>bruine</i>	<i>échine</i>	<i>flèche</i>	<i>guichet</i>
<i>butin</i>	<i>échoppe</i>	<i>foc</i>	<i>guille</i>

<i>gumpe</i>	<i>hêtre</i>	<i>mât</i>	<i>salle</i>
<i>guipure</i>	<i>homard</i>	<i>matelot</i>	<i>saule</i>
<i>guise</i>	<i>houblon</i>	<i>meurtre</i>	<i>sénéchal</i>
	<i>hous</i>	<i>mutaine</i>	<i>sillon</i>
<i>haie</i>	<i>housseaux</i>	<i>mîle</i>	<i>souhait</i>
<i>haillon</i>	<i>housse</i>	<i>moue</i>	<i>soupe</i>
<i>halage</i>	<i>houx</i>	<i>mouette</i>	<i>sud</i>
<i>hâle</i>	<i>huche</i>	<i>mousse</i>	<i>suie</i>
<i>halle</i>	<i>hune</i>	<i>mulot</i>	
<i>hallebarde</i>	<i>hutte</i>		<i>large</i>
<i>halte</i>		<i>nord</i>	<i>tas</i>
<i>hamac</i>	<i>jardin</i>	<i>noue</i>	<i>taudis</i>
<i>hameau</i>		<i>nuque</i>	<i>tillac</i>
<i>hanap</i>	<i>laiche</i>		<i>tonne</i>
<i>hanche</i>	<i>latte</i>	<i>orgueil</i>	<i>touaille</i>
<i>hannelon</i>	<i>layette</i>	<i>ouest</i>	<i>touffe</i>
<i>hanse</i>	<i>lippe</i>		<i>toupet</i>
<i>harangue</i>	<i>liste</i>	<i>quille</i>	<i>trappe</i>
<i>hareng</i>	<i>loquet</i>		<i>tréteau</i>
<i>haro</i>	<i>lot</i>	<i>race</i>	<i>trêve</i>
<i>hâte</i>		<i>rade</i>	<i>tuyau</i>
<i>hauban</i>	<i>malle</i>	<i>rang</i>	
<i>haubert</i>	<i>manne</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>vacarme</i>
<i>haveron</i>	<i>mannequin</i>	<i>regain</i>	<i>vague</i>
<i>havel</i>	<i>marc</i>	<i>rochet</i>	<i>varangue</i>
<i>hâvre</i>	<i>marche</i>	<i>roseau</i>	<i>varech</i>
<i>heaume</i>	<i>maréchal</i>	<i>rosse</i>	<i>vase (f.) (oone,</i>
<i>héraut</i>	<i>marque</i>		<i>mire)</i>
<i>héron</i>	<i>marsoin</i>	<i>sale</i>	<i>vilebrequin</i>

ADJECTIVES.

<i>affreux</i>	<i>blet (fem. -tte; drôle</i>	<i>gai</i>
	<i>over-ripe,</i>	<i>gaillard</i>
<i>blasard</i>	<i>sleepy)</i>	<i>galant</i>
<i>blanc</i>	<i>bleu</i>	<i>gauche</i>
<i>blême</i>	<i>brun</i>	<i>gris</i>

<i>hardi</i>	<i>laid</i>	<i>marri</i>	<i>sawr</i>
<i>hargneux</i>	<i>lige</i>	<i>mignard</i>	<i>sûr</i>
<i>hâve</i>	<i>lisse</i>	<i>mignon</i>	
			<i>terne</i>
<i>icûl</i>	<i>madré</i>	<i>riche</i>	

VERBS.

<i>adouber</i>	<i>déguerpîr</i>	<i>glisser</i>	<i>marcher</i>
	<i>dérober</i>	<i>goder</i>	
<i>bafouer</i>		<i>gratler</i>	<i>nantir</i>
<i>baudir</i>	<i>éclater</i>	<i>graver</i>	<i>navrer</i>
<i>blessér</i>	<i>écraser</i>	<i>grimper</i>	
<i>blinder</i>	<i>effrayer</i>	<i>grincer</i>	<i>pincer</i>
<i>bramer</i>	<i>élaguer</i>	<i>gripper</i>	
<i>brandir</i>	<i>émousser</i>	<i>grommeler</i>	<i>radoter</i>
<i>branler</i>	<i>épargner</i>	<i>guérir</i>	<i>râler</i>
<i>briser</i>	<i>épeler</i>	<i>guerpîr</i>	<i>râper</i>
<i>broncher</i>	<i>épier</i>	<i>guider</i>	<i>regretter</i>
<i>brouir</i>	<i>équiper</i>	<i>guiller</i>	<i>rider</i>
<i>brouter</i>	<i>esquiver</i>	<i>guinder</i>	<i>rincer</i>
<i>broyer</i>	<i>étayer</i>		<i>river</i>
		<i>haïr</i>	<i>rôtir</i>
<i>choisir</i>	<i>frapper</i>	<i>hanter</i>	<i>rouir</i>
<i>chopper</i>	<i>fournir</i>	<i>happer</i>	
<i>choquer</i>		<i>héberger</i>	<i>saisir</i>
<i>cingler</i>	<i>gaber</i>	<i>hisser</i>	<i>siller</i>
<i>clabauder</i>	<i>gâcher</i>	<i>hocher</i>	<i>suinter</i>
<i>clapir</i>	<i>gagner</i>	<i>honnir</i>	
<i>cracher</i>	<i>galoper</i>		<i>tarir</i>
	<i>garder</i>	<i>jaser</i>	<i>tirer</i>
<i>danser</i>	<i>garer</i>		<i>toucher</i>
<i>dauber</i>	<i>garnir</i>	<i>lécher</i>	<i>traquer</i>
<i>déchirer</i>	<i>gaspiller</i>	<i>laurer</i>	
<i>défalquer</i>	<i>glapir</i>	<i>loger</i>	<i>voguer</i>

ADVERBS.

<i>guère</i>	<i>trop</i>
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Numerous as are these words, they have not modified the aspect of the French language, which has assimilated them and subjected them to the laws of its pronunciation; once adopted, they have shared the general lot of the other words of the language.

Modern German has given but little to French. French is more especially indebted to it for terms denoting beverages: *bitter*, *kirsch*, *vermouth*, &c. During the Thirty Years' War were borrowed the words *bivouac* (or *bivac*), *chenapan*, *havresac*, *lansquenai*, *retire*. German philosophy has given terms of metaphysics, themselves, however, taken from Latin and Greek. The war of 1870 has not left anything.

It is to be noted that Germanic languages have given to Mediaeval and Modern French most of the seafaring terms used in the West (the sailors of the Mediterranean use Provençal, Italian, or Byzantine terms).

SUBSTANTIVES.

<i>agrès</i>	<i>digue</i>	<i>hauban</i>	<i>rade</i>
<i>amarrer</i>		<i>hâvre</i>	
	<i>écume</i>	<i>hune</i>	
<i>bac</i>	<i>élingue</i>		<i>tillac</i>
<i>bord</i>	<i>esquif</i>	<i>lisse</i>	
<i>canot</i>	<i>falaise</i>	<i>mât</i>	<i>vague</i>
<i>chaloupe</i>	<i>foc</i>	<i>matelot</i>	<i>varangue</i>
<i>crique</i>	<i>fret</i>	<i>mousse</i>	
<i>dague</i>	<i>gaffe</i>	<i>quille</i>	

VERBS.

<i>cingler</i>	<i>garer</i>	<i>hâler</i>	<i>voguer</i>
<i>équiper</i>	<i>guinder</i>	<i>hisser</i>	&c.

These examples show how the maritime terminology of the Romans had gone under with so much else at the downfall of the Empire.

Modern English has, since the end of the last century, given French words relating to politics, sport, fashion [*sic*], industry, dress, finance, &c.

<i>ballast</i>	<i>drain</i>	<i>meeting</i>	<i>tilbury</i>
<i>bifleck</i>			<i>toast</i>
<i>budget</i>	<i>express</i>	<i>pamphlet</i>	<i>touriste</i>
		<i>pudding</i>	<i>tunnel</i>
<i>châle</i>	<i>festival</i>		<i>turf</i>
<i>chèque</i>	<i>flirt</i>	<i>rail</i>	
<i>clown</i>		<i>redingote</i>	<i>verdic</i>
<i>club</i>	<i>grog</i>	<i>rosbif</i>	
<i>convict</i>			<i>wagon</i>
<i>coke</i>	<i>humour</i>	<i>speech</i>	<i>whist</i>
		<i>spencer</i>	
<i>dandy</i>	<i>jockey</i>	<i>sport</i>	<i>&c.</i>

832. BORROWINGS FROM THE SLAVONIC.—These are not numerous: *calèche, cosaque, cravate, knout, moujik, samovar, steps, ukase, &c.* Russian literature, now so much in vogue, is increasing the importation of such words.

It is curious to notice that Polish has supplied French with the names of dances: *masurka, polka, redowa, &c.*

833. BORROWINGS FROM ROMANCE LANGUAGES.—Among the dialects of the Langue d'oïl the *French* dialect (i. e. the dialect of the Ile de France) has, it is true, been affected by the neighbouring dialects, but only very slightly; in the main it has remained almost pure. Their influence has been confined to a few words, Picard, Norman, or Burgundian, denoting local products: *pouliche* (Norman, *filly*); *arroche* (Picard, kind of spinach); *avoine, foin* (Burgundian, *oats, hay*), which have replaced the French forms *poulaine, arrence, aveine, fein, &c.*

Provençal, from the 14th century, has given many more words; first of all, terms of literature: *ballade* (traceable to the period of the troubadours), &c.; then, later on, names of fish and general terms of fishing or navigation, &c.:

autan (south-wester), *cap*, *carguer*, *gabarié* (templet, or lines of a boat, &c.), *croisade*, *mistral*, *vergue* (yard), *abeille* (French *avette*, obs. and dialectal), *dorade* (John Dory), *bigarade*, *cabri*, *ertolan*, *radis*, *grenade*, *grenat*, *isard* (*chamois*); *bastide*, *adenas*, *caisse*, *forçat*, &c.

We may further note that Walloon has given to French the word *ducasse* (*village feast*); the Romance dialects of Switzerland have given a few words: *avalanche*, *chalet*, *crétin*, *rans*. We have quoted in § 329 the words of Bas Breton origin. Basque has also given a few words.

Going beyond the French territory, we find that Portuguese has given but little: *autodafé*, *bayadère*, *bergamote*, *chamade* (the sounding of a parley), *coco* (cocoa-nut), *mandarin*, *marmalade*.

Spanish has had greater influence. The Spanish wars in the 16th century, and the political relations accompanying and following them until the 18th century, have left numerous traces in the language. These are:—

Titles or qualifications: *duègne*, *grandesse*.

Military terms:

<i>alfange</i>	<i>escouade</i>
<i>algarade</i>	<i>matassin</i>
<i>camarade</i>	<i>matamore</i>
<i>caparaçon</i>	&c.

Seafaring terms:

<i>débarcadère</i>	<i>embargo</i>
<i>embarcadère</i>	<i>subréargue</i>

Musical terms:

<i>castagnette</i>	<i>sérénade</i>
<i>guilare</i>	

Terms of games or pleasures:

<i>domino</i>	<i>régaler</i>
<i>hombre</i>	<i>sarabande</i>
<i>ponte</i> (in cards, &c.)	<i>sieste</i>

Terms denoting animals, plants, manufactured articles, &c.:

<i>abricot</i>	<i>épagneul</i>	<i>savane</i>
<i>anchois</i>	<i>indigo</i>	<i>tabac</i>
<i>benjoin</i>	<i>jasmin</i>	<i>tomate</i>
<i>cannelle</i>	<i>jonquille</i>	<i>tulipe</i>
<i>cigare</i>	<i>mérinos</i>	<i>vanille</i>
<i>cochenille</i>	<i>pintade</i>	&c.

We may also cite: *alcôve*, *ambassade*, *caban* (a cloak), *caramel*, *case*, *chocolat*, *corridor*, *galon*, *mantille*, *pagne*, *paragon*, *soubresaut*, *transe*, &c.; the adjectives *barbon*, *baroque*, *bizarre*, *disparate*; the verbs *chamarrer* and *habler* (from the Spanish *hablar*, to *speak*, which has passed into French in the sense of to *brag*, or *romance*).

Of the sister Romance languages Italian has left the deepest traces in French, influencing its vocabulary at two successive periods, in the 16th and in the 18th century. Its action in the 16th century caused so much disturbance that certain writers took up their pens in defence of the purity of the French language. Henri Estienne protested against the usage of the Court in his two *Dialogues du langage françois italianisé* [1578]. The Transalpine expeditions of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, the Italian Court of Catherine of Medicis, the development of the fine arts originally due to Italian artists, the great movement of the Renaissance which came from beyond the Alps, had introduced a great number of Italian words into French. Many of these have, it is true, disappeared; but enough have survived to leave a deep imprint: groups of sounds hitherto unknown to the language were thus introduced, and modified to some extent the general character of its pronunciation; and new suffixes came into use.

We now give a list of the more important words borrowed from the Italian:

Terms of war:

<i>alerte</i>	<i>cantine</i>	<i>escarpe</i>	<i>parapet</i>
<i>anspessade</i>	<i>caporal</i>	<i>escopette</i>	<i>pertuisane</i>
<i>arquebuse</i>	<i>carabine</i>	<i>escrime</i>	<i>plastron</i>
<i>arsenal</i>	<i>cartel</i>	<i>espadon</i>	<i>poltron</i>
<i>bandière</i>	<i>cartouche</i>	<i>esplanade</i>	<i>redoute</i>
<i>bandouillère</i>	<i>casemate</i>	<i>estacade</i>	<i>relevade</i>
<i>baraque</i>	<i>casque</i>	<i>estafilade</i>	<i>saccade</i>
<i>barricade</i>	<i>castel</i>	<i>estoc</i>	<i>sacoché</i>
<i>bastion</i>	<i>cavalerie</i>	<i>fantassin</i>	<i>sentinelle</i>
<i>bombe</i>	<i>cavalier</i>	<i>fleuret</i>	<i>soldat</i>
<i>botte</i>	<i>chevaleresque</i>	<i>fougue</i>	<i>soldatesque</i>
<i>bravache</i>	<i>citadelle</i>	<i>fracasser</i>	<i>spadassin</i>
<i>brave</i>	<i>condottiere</i>	<i>galion</i>	<i>taillade</i>
<i>bravoure</i>	<i>cuirasse</i>	<i>généralissime</i>	<i>vedette</i>
<i>bravo</i>	<i>embuscade</i>	<i>giberne</i>	<i>volte</i>
<i>brigade</i>	<i>escadron</i>	<i>manège</i>	<i>&c.</i>
<i>calibre</i>	<i>escalade</i>	<i>mousqueton</i>	
<i>canon</i>	<i>escarmouche</i>	<i>parade</i>	

Terms of the Court:

<i>accolade</i>	<i>brigue</i>	<i>escorte</i>	<i>page</i>
<i>accort, -e (en-</i>	<i>camériste</i>	<i>estafier</i>	<i>paladin</i>
<i>gaging, adj.)</i>	<i>carrosse</i>	<i>estrade</i>	<i>partisan</i>
<i>affidé</i>	<i>cavalcade</i>	<i>grandiose</i>	<i>sérénissime</i>
<i>allesse</i>	<i>cortège</i>	<i>imbroglio</i>	<i>&c.</i>
<i>althier</i>	<i>courtisan</i>	<i>incognito</i>	

Terms of the fine arts (architecture, painting, sculpture, the stage, and dress):

<i>aquarelle</i>	<i>balustre</i>	<i>buste</i>	<i>caricature</i>
<i>arcade</i>	<i>balustrade</i>	<i>cabinet</i>	<i>carnaval</i>
<i>archivolte</i>	<i>bamboche</i>	<i>cabriole</i>	<i>casaque</i>
<i>arlequin</i>	<i>belvédère</i>	<i>caleçon</i>	<i>casino</i>
<i>artisan</i>	<i>bouffon</i>	<i>camée</i>	<i>catasfalque</i>
<i>baladin</i>	<i>bronze</i>	<i>camisole</i>	<i>cicerone</i>
<i>balcon</i>	<i>burin</i>	<i>campanile</i>	<i>comparse ('su-</i>
<i>baldaquin</i>	<i>burlesque</i>	<i>capote</i>	<i>per,' theat.).</i>

<i>concetti</i>	<i>gambade</i>	<i>pantalon</i>	<i>saltimbanque</i>
<i>corniche</i>	<i>grotesque</i>	<i>pastel</i>	<i>serviette</i>
<i>costume</i>	<i>girandole</i>	<i>pastiche</i>	<i>simarre</i>
<i>coupole</i>	<i>loto</i>	<i>pasquinade</i>	<i>stage</i>
<i>dôme</i>	<i>madone</i>	<i>perruque</i>	<i>stance</i>
<i>dilettante</i>	<i>madrigal</i>	<i>piédestal</i>	<i>stuc</i>
<i>entrechat</i>	<i>maquette</i>	<i>pilastre</i>	<i>tarots</i>
<i>esquisse</i>	<i>mascarade</i>	<i>pittoresque</i>	<i>torse</i>
<i>façade</i>	<i>médaille</i>	<i>polichinelle</i>	<i>tremplin</i>
<i>feston</i>	<i>modèle</i>	<i>pommade</i>	<i>valise</i>
<i>filigrane</i>	<i>mosaïque</i>	<i>porcelaine</i>	<i>villa</i>
<i>filoselle</i>	<i>niche</i>	<i>postiche</i>	<i>virtuose</i>
<i>fresque</i>	<i>orvietan</i>	<i>quadrille</i>	<i>voltige</i>
<i>gala</i>	<i>palette</i>	<i>raquette</i>	<i>&c.</i>
<i>galbe</i>	<i>panache</i>		

Terms of commerce :

<i>agio</i>	<i>colis</i>	<i>galette</i>	<i>sequin</i>
<i>banque</i>	<i>dito</i>	<i>mercantile</i>	<i>tare</i>
<i>banqueroute</i>	<i>douane</i>	<i>noliser</i>	<i>tarif</i>
<i>bilan</i>	<i>ducat</i>	<i>piastre</i>	<i>tire-lire</i>
<i>billon</i>	<i>franco</i>	<i>pistole</i>	<i>tontine</i>
<i>bulletin</i>			

Terms of navigation :

<i>bastingage</i>	<i>escadre</i>	<i>felouque</i>	<i>gondole</i>
<i>boussole</i>	<i>escale</i>	<i>frégate</i>	<i>régate</i>
<i>brigantin</i>	<i>fanal</i>	<i>gabier</i>	<i>tartane</i>
<i>caravelle</i>			

Names of (i) animals, (ii) plants, (iii) foods :

(i)	<i>tarentule</i>	<i>belladone</i>	<i>gousses</i>
<i>ganache</i>	<i>nibeline</i>	<i>brocoli</i>	<i>lavande</i>
<i>madrépore</i>		<i>brugnon</i>	<i>muscade</i>
<i>marmotte</i>	(ii)	<i>cédrat</i>	<i>muscat</i>
<i>perroquet</i>	<i>artichaut</i>	<i>celéri</i>	<i>— pistache</i>

<i>primevère</i>	<i>biscotte</i>	<i>macaron</i>	<i>salade</i>
<i>scorsonère</i>	<i>candi</i>	<i>macaroni</i>	<i>semoule</i>
	<i>carbonade</i>	<i>marasquin</i>	<i>sirop</i>
(iii)	<i>cervelas</i>	<i>massepain</i>	<i>sorbet</i>
<i>balsan</i>	<i>frangipane</i>	<i>ris</i>	<i>zeste</i>

We may add :

<i>assassin</i>	<i>capilonner</i>	<i>frasque</i>	<i>pédant</i>
<i>babiole</i>	<i>carriole</i>	<i>girouette</i>	<i>populace</i>
<i>bagatelle</i>	<i>cascade</i>	<i>gourdin</i>	<i>revêche</i>
<i>bagne</i>	<i>catacombe</i>	<i>granit</i>	<i>révolte</i>
<i>baguette</i>	<i>chagrin</i>	<i>improviste</i>	<i>riposte</i>
<i>ballon</i>	<i>charlatan</i>	<i>ingambe</i>	<i>rodomont</i>
<i>balourd</i>	<i>chiourme (the</i>	<i>isolé</i>	<i>sacripan</i>
<i>bambin</i>	<i>convict- or</i>	<i>lagune</i>	<i>sarbacane</i>
<i>bandit</i>	<i>slave - crew</i>	<i>lave</i>	<i>sbire</i>
<i>basque</i>	<i>of a galley)</i>	<i>lassarone</i>	<i>sirocco</i>
<i>bourrasque</i>	<i>désinvolture</i>	<i>lésine</i>	<i>talisman</i>
<i>bouton</i>	<i>douche</i>	<i>malandrin</i>	<i>tramontane</i>
<i>brigand</i>	<i>faquin</i>	<i>(brigand)</i>	<i>tromblon</i>
<i>brusque</i>	<i>fiasco</i>	<i>muscadin</i>	<i>villégiature</i>
<i>calme</i>	<i>filon</i>	<i>passade</i>	<i>volcan</i>
<i>caprice</i>	<i>forfanterie</i>	<i>peccadille</i>	<i>&c.</i>
<i>capitolade</i>			

In the 18th century France received from Italy her musical terminology:

<i>adagio</i>	<i>cavatine</i>	<i>opéra</i>	<i>soprano</i>
<i>andante</i>	<i>concert</i>	<i>oratorio</i>	<i>ténor</i>
<i>ariette</i>	<i>crescendo</i>	<i>piano</i>	<i>timbale</i>
<i>arpège</i>	<i>épinette</i>	<i>rebec</i>	<i>trille</i>
<i>barcarolle</i>	<i>fausset</i>	<i>ritournelle</i>	<i>trombone</i>
<i>bécarre</i>	<i>fioriture</i>	<i>solfège</i>	<i>violon</i>
<i>bémol</i>	<i>fugue</i>	<i>solo</i>	<i>violoncelle</i>
<i>cadence</i>	<i>mandoline</i>	<i>sonate</i>	<i>&c.</i>
<i>cantate</i>			

334. BORROWINGS FROM ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.—Hebrew has given French a few words, most of which have passed through the medium of the Vulgate, or Latin translation of the Bible: *chérubin*, *géhénne* (from which has also been derived the Mod. F. *gêne*), *Pâque*, *sabbat*, *séraphin*. We may add the words taken from the Talmud: *rabbin*, *cabale*¹.

Arabic, owing to the Crusades, and to the study of Oriental philosophy, which excited enthusiasm between the 12th and 14th centuries, has given French a certain number of terms, most of which have passed into the language through Low-Latin, and some through Spanish and Italian. They comprise more especially terms of alchemy, astronomy, and mathematics:

<i>alambic</i>	<i>algèbre</i>	<i>chiffre</i>	<i>zénith</i>
<i>alcali</i>	<i>algorithmes</i>	<i>elixir</i>	<i>zéro</i>
<i>alchimie</i>	<i>aludel</i>	<i>julep</i>	&c.
<i>alcool</i>	<i>borax</i>	<i>sirop</i>	

Relations of war and commerce also introduced a considerable number of words denoting stuffs, stones, perfumes, &c., of oriental origin, Persian and Turkish as well as Arabic. Some of these were borrowed direct, others through various intermediary languages, and notably Italian:

<i>bouracan</i>	<i>divan</i>	<i>laxuli</i>	<i>taffetas</i>
<i>café</i>	<i>éché</i>	<i>magasin</i>	<i>tamarin</i>
<i>carat</i>	<i>hoqueton</i>	<i>matelas</i>	<i>truchement</i> ²
<i>civette</i>	<i>jupe</i>	<i>mat (check)</i>	&c.
<i>colback</i>	<i>kiosque</i>	<i>mate</i>	
<i>colon</i>	<i>laque</i>	<i>sofa</i>	

¹ This last word has assumed a particular signification: in Hebrew, *cabala* means 'tradition'; in the Middle Ages it designated a mystic philosophy, which was kept secret; hence it took the sense of a hidden sect, an assemblage of men secretly united to arrive at an end, and thus came to have its present meaning, which is identical with that of the English *cabal*.

² [See note 1, p. 523.]

We may also quote a series of words denoting purely oriental objects:

<i>alcoran</i>	<i>cimeterre</i>	<i>mameluk</i>	<i>sérail</i>
<i>babouche</i>	<i>derviche</i>	<i>marabout</i>	<i>sultan</i>
<i>basar</i>	<i>drogman</i> ¹	<i>minaret</i>	<i>talisman</i>
<i>bey</i>	<i>firman</i>	<i>mosquée</i>	<i>turban</i>
<i>burnous</i>	<i>gazelle</i>	<i>narguileh</i>	<i>visir</i>
<i>caravansérail</i>	<i>girafe</i>	<i>odalisque</i>	
<i>chacal</i>	<i>janissaire</i>	<i>pacha</i>	

Chinese, Hindustani, Bengali, and the other Asiatic tongues, notably Malay, and also the native languages of Africa and America (Carib, Mexican), have given certain terms, mostly commercial. *Bambou*, *Brahme*, *cachemire*, *cornac*, *pagode*, *palanquin*, *paria*, &c., come from India; *thé*, *casoar*, *orang-outang*, *ylang-ylang*, come from Malaysia; *acajou*, *alpaga*, *ananas*, *cacao*, *caïman*, *colibri*, *condor*, *ouragan*, *quina*, *sagou*, *tabac*, *tapioca*, *talouer*, from America.

335.—CANT TERMS (*ARGOT*)², AND ONOMATOPOEIAS.—We may also note the 'cant' terms of thieves, a conventional language made by people who have excellent reasons for not letting themselves be understood. We find, not without regret, that this language is not absolutely walled in, that cant terms find their way into the popular speech, and even rise to that of the middle classes. This artificial language must not be confounded with true 'slang' or what is mis-called the *argot* of the boulevards, or the *argot* of various occupations. These are more or less legitimate and regular forms of the common tongue; they consist especially of metaphors, usually very picturesque, often obscure, more or less lasting, and more or less widespread. The formation of these metaphors presents the same regular characters as that of thousands of other figurative expressions which

¹ *Drogman* (Eng. *dragoman*) is another transformation of the Arabic word that gave *truchement* (*interpreter*).

² See note, p. 508.

have entered into current use. This is not true of the terms of *argot* proper, which is a language created of intention, with the help of intentional modes of derivation, and is consequently quite at variance with the general laws of the formation of languages¹.

Finally, we must say a few words on 'onomatopoeia,' a term which properly signifies 'word-formation,' and which is improperly applied to that one process of word-formation which consists in imitating a particular noise, when we wish to designate the noise itself, or an object or action producing this noise: *froufrou* (*rustle*, subst.), *glou-glou* (*gurgle*, subst.), *cricri* (*rattle*, subst.). It has been sought to ascribe to onomatopoeia a considerable number of words whose etymology is obscure: this is too ready a solution of the etymological problem, and the number of true onomatopoeias is reducible to very few. We may add to those just mentioned a few words derived from interjections: *chuchoter* (*whisper*), from *ohut* (*hush!*); *huer* (*to hoot*), from *hu*; *ebahir* (*to take aback*) (perhaps from *bah*).

¹ See an article by Messrs. Marcel Schwob and Georges Guéysee in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, t. vii., p. 33.

PART II

THE LIFE OF WORDS¹

336. THE HISTORY OF WORDS.—Words are made to express ideas. After studying their external form, that is their pronunciation, their grammatical variations, and their modes of formation, we must now consider their essential value, as symbols of the ideas and feelings we wish to express.

This new study leads us straight into popular psychology. From this standpoint there is nothing so fertile and interesting as the history of the words, which reflects the history of the thought and of the civilization of a people.

In the normal state of the language words are perpetuated while preserving their proper sense. Thus, through all the deformations that phonetic laws have imposed on Latin words, a certain number have retained in the new language the ideas which they originally expressed: *homme, femme, père, mère, frère, sœur, fils, fille; membre, bras, main, pied, doigt, nez, dent, langue, cœur, ventre, dos, bœuf, chèvre, chien, souris, loup, lièvre, chameau; arbre, fruit, graine, champ, plante; table, mur, plume, porte, livre, charbon, vêlement, clef, étable, écrin, couronne; ciel, temps, pluie, nuit, heure, étoile, mer, eau, rive; raison, vertu, mal, vie, mort,*

¹ [In the following pages free use has been made of the English edition of A. Darmesteter's book, *The Life of Words* (London, 1886), in which the subject is more fully dealt with. For kind permission to avail himself of this work, the translator tenders his best thanks to the publishers, Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.]

bonté, santé, ardeur, amour, douleur, coutume; bon, froid, chaud, vert, noir, doux, vif, fort, ferme; aimer, chanter, donner, porter, nouer, ternir, voir, venir, jouer, mentir, sentir, vêtir, dire, rire, faire, rompre, joindre; plus, puis, sur, sous, tant, quand, &c.

But in the course of their history nations acquire new knowledge and new ideas; their manners and their mode of life are modified, their civilization transformed. Their language perforce follows these changes; and by the action of all these outward and inward causes the vocabulary is transformed, losing here, gaining there, either words or meanings.

We need not here speak of the losses. The new acquisitions, or neologisms, are of two kinds: acquisitions of new words, or word-neologisms, and acquisitions of new meanings, or neologisms of meaning.

Word-neologisms are produced by Popular composition or derivation, by borrowings from foreign languages, and by Learned formation. The principles of these formations have been studied in the preceding section. We have now to study neologisms of meaning, and to sketch the history of the sense of words in its general bearings¹.

¹ [This is sometimes called *Semantics*. The general theories of Semantics given apply in most cases to English equally with French. But for obvious reasons the original examples have been preserved.]

CHAPTER I

HOW NEW MEANINGS ARISE

- I. THE LOGICAL CONDITIONS OF CHANGES IN MEANING.—337. The word.—338. Formation of substantives.—339. Synecdoche.—340. Metonymy.—341. Metaphor.—342. Catachresis.—343. Complex modifications (radiation, concatenation).—344. Conclusion.
- II. THE CAUSES OF CHANGES IN MEANING.—345. Historical causes.—346. Psychological modifications.
- III. PHILOLOGICAL CONDITIONS.—347. Neologisms.—348. Literary neologisms.—349. Popular neologisms.

New meanings arise in accordance with definite logical processes of the mind, induced by definite historical or psychological causes ; and, like new words, they penetrate more or less deeply into the language.

We have, then, to study these logical processes, these historical and psychological causes, this entrance of new meanings and new words into the language.

I. The Logical Conditions of Changes in Meaning.

337. THE WORD.—Before studying the logical conditions required for changes in meaning we must first realize the essence of the word itself.

In the spoken language the *word* is a sound or group of sounds to which those who speak the language attach a *durable* intellectual meaning. The word is an *audible* symbol which recalls by a *constant* association of ideas either the image of a material object, or the idea of an action, or an abstract notion.

It would seem that a language ought to possess as many words as there are simple ideas. But in that case memory would be overwhelmed by the weight of words; and the mind relieves it by giving to the same word various senses, each of which, while assuming the common primitive sound, has a separate existence, and is in reality a new word. Hence it is that the words of our language present themselves to our mind with those special meanings wherewith we wish to use them, with no need for us to trouble about the multiplicity of other meanings which each of them may carry. The idea, not the word, is the mental starting-point of the expression of thought.

338. FORMATION OF SUBSTANTIVES.—Amongst the various kinds of words, substantives, from their importance, occupy the first rank. Here, moreover, changes in meaning are the most numerous and easiest to apprehend. Therefore, in the case of the substantive, we shall be especially able to consider the sequence of thought, and what we say of the substantive applies with but little modification to the other parts of speech.

Every substantive originally designates an object by some particular character which defines or determines it, and which is called the *determinant*. A ship, called in Latin *navis*, is called in French *vaisseau*, or *bâtiment*; in Latin the determinant is 'that which *swims* (*nata*)'; in French it is either the idea of a great *vase* or that of a *construction* (from *bâtir*). The choice of a determinant is therefore the first act of the mind in giving the name to an object.

This determinant has no need to be *denominative*: it serves not to express the inmost nature of the object, but simply to call up the image thereof. This is why, in the case of so many words, the terms used in their formation show so little of their essence. *Un soldat* is not a *fighting man*, but a *man* '*soldé*,' *paid*. *La confiture*, *jam*, is not

a preparation of cooked fruit, but simply a preparation (Lat. *confectura*). If we consider etymology alone, *un cardinal* is simply a man of importance (Lat. *cardinalis*).

Thus, in giving names to objects, language designates them by some one of their qualities, which may be important or trivial. In the beginning these determinants call up in the mind first the image of the determining quality, and only as an accessory that of the object. Then, by force of habit, the name applies more and more to the object, until finally it evokes its idea in its entirety. The name begins by being an attributive word, and ends by becoming a substantive. *Le drapeau* was first the piece of cloth—*drap*—fastened to the staff (*drapeau* from its etymology means 'pièce de drap'); now it denotes the flag.

To forget the etymological signification is the necessary condition of the formation of the substantive. It is also the fundamental condition of every transformation of sense.

The transformations of sense have been classed by grammarians as 'figures of speech' or *tropes*. Tropes are of three kinds: *synechdoche*, *metonymy*, and *metaphor*.

339. SYNECDOCHE.—*Synechdoche*, from the Greek *συνεχῶς*, *inclusion*, exchanges two terms of unequal extension.

(a) The genus for the species: *un bâtiment* for *un navire*; and the species for the genus: *l'homme* for *l'être humain* (*man* for *the human being*).

(b) The singular for the plural: *protéger la veuve et l'orphelin*, meaning *les veuves et les orphelins*; and the plural for the singular: *il est dit dans les Écritures*, that is *dans un livre des Écritures* (*in a book of the Holy Scriptures*).

(c) The part for the whole: *un drapeau* (lit. *piece of cloth*) for *un étendard* (*flag*); and the whole for a part: *un tableau* for the picture on a '*tableau*' (which originally meant *panel*).

(d) The common noun for the proper noun: *le Roi* for *Louis XIV*; and the proper noun for the common noun:

sen Tartuffe for a hypocrite. The last case has received the barbarous name of *antonomasia*.

Thus *synecdoche* specializes a general meaning or generalizes a special meaning. It proceeds by either (i) *restriction* or (ii) *extension*¹; and we will examine these two cases more closely.

(i) There is *restriction* when the determinate is absorbed by the determinant, or the determinant by the determinate. In *le jour de l'an*, for *le premier jour de l'an*, *le Roi* for *le Roi Louis XIV*, the determinants have given way to the determinates *jour de l'an*, *roi*. In *une capitale* for *une ville capitale*, it is the determinate *ville* which has been absorbed in the determinant *capitale*. The latter case frequently occurs in the transformation of adjectives into substantives: *journal* for *papier journal*²; *bonne* for *domestique bonne* (*à tout faire*)³; *bâtarde* for *écriture bâtarde*⁴, &c. The former case is commonest in the special use of a word when its complement or determining qualificative is understood: *bâtiment* (in the sense of *ship*) for *bâtiment de mer*; *succès*⁵ for *succès favorable*. In both cases there is a contact, expressed or understood, between the two ideas expressed by the determinant and the determinate, and of the two, sometimes the one, sometimes the other, is finally absorbed by the original associate which restricted its application.

(ii) There is *extension* in the use of the name of the species, or part, for the genus, or whole, and again in the use of the proper name to designate common nouns. Here we again find that general process of name-giving which consists in designating an object by one particular quality;

¹ We shall pass over the use of the singular for the plural, or the plural for the singular; this is a matter of style, not of language.

² A 'daily.'

³ [See, for another derivation, p. 445, note 1.]

⁴ [A kind of writing which is intermediate between a round hand and a sloping hand.]

⁵ Lat. *successus*, Eng. *issue*.

from this one quality the mind steps to the image of the object as a whole.

340. METONYMY.—Metonymy (from the Greek *μετανομία*, transformation of the name) is a kind of metaphor which comprises the following cases, taking—

a. (1) The cause for the effect: *un effort* (a strain), an internal derangement produced by an exaggerated muscular effort; or (2) the effect for the cause: *les pâles maladies*, i. e. the pale maladies, for the maladies that make persons pale (*anaemia*).

b. (1) The container for the contents: *boire son verre* (to drink one's glass, &c.); *la maison est en émoi* (the house is in an upset); or (2) the contents for the container: *un couvent, un collège, une école, un ministère*, originally used to designate certain assemblages of people, but now also used to denote the buildings that contain them.

c. (1) The place for a product characteristic of it: *du champagne*; or (2) the product characteristic of it for the place: *les Eaux-Bonnes*¹.

d. (1) The object for the thing symbolized: *le trône et l'autel* for *la royauté et l'église* (the throne and the altar for Royalty and the Church); or (2) the thing symbolized for the object: *la royauté* for *le roi* (Royalty for the King).

e. (1) The abstract for the concrete: *faire des politesses, des charités*, that is *des actes de politesse, de charité*; or (2) the concrete for the abstract: *l'homme* for *l'humanité* (man for humanity).

Metonymy, as we have seen, comprises two notions united together by a constant relation. It is very commonly used. It for the most part gives to abstract terms a concrete meaning: *ameublement* means in its original sense the action of furnishing; and, by metonymy, the furniture as a whole; *bâtiment*, the action of building, and, by metonymy,

¹ [The name of various towns and villages in France.]

an edifice built; *allée, entrée, issue, sortie*, the actions of going, entering, or going out, and, by metonymy, the ways by which one goes (alley), enters (entry), or goes out (exit).

341. METAPHOR.—Metaphor (from the Greek *μεταφορά*, *transference*) transfers the name of one object to another, thanks to some character common to both, by which they may be connected and compared.

Like metonymy, it proceeds by extension, and in three ways.

a. It connects two material objects: *feuille* (leaf of a tree) and *feuille* (of paper), because of the thinness which is the characteristic of both.

b. It connects a moral or intellectual fact with a material fact or action, and gives the name of the former to the latter: *céder à quelqu'un* (to yield to any one), and, by metaphor, *la porte cède* (the door yields); *entendre* signifies properly to understand, and, by metaphor, to hear.

c. Most frequently it serves to express and denote abstract ideas by comparing them with concrete objects, or actions, and giving them names applicable to these: *un noir chagrin*; *peser des raisons*; *esprit* (properly breath), &c.

The process of every metaphor has two stages: the one in which the metaphor is still visible, and in which the name, while designating the second object (or action), still calls up the image of the first; the other in which the first image is forgotten, and the name designates only the second object (or action) and becomes commensurate with it. In quoting the following passage of Montaigne: '*Devant le spectacle des divisions . . . qui nous déchirent . . .*,' *division* seems to be synonymous with the term *strife* or *civil war*. But the complete sentence runs: '*Devant le spectacle des divisions et subdivisions qui nous déchirent.*' We immediately recognize that for Montaigne *division* still

retained the etymological image ; while in the language of to-day, the image having disappeared, the word has really acquired a new value.

342. CATACHRESIS.—We have seen how restriction of meaning by synecdoche absorbs the determinant in the thing determined, or the reverse ; how the extensions of synecdoche, of metonymy, of metaphor, transfer the name of a part of an object to a whole, to a group, or to a neighbouring object, united to the former by a constant or an analogical relation : in every case the condition of the change being our mental forgetfulness of the first term, and our consciousness of the second alone.

Such forgetting has been regarded by grammarians, who failed to grasp its true character, as a distinct figure of speech, and has received the Greek name *catachresis* [*misuse*]. This forgetting is not a misuse of language, but the very law that rules every change of meaning. Without this forgetfulness the new designation always retains a twofold character, and remains bound to its root : *catachresis*, the act of its emancipation, is one of the vital forces of language.

Since it is habit, usage, and time that bring about the forgetting of the primitive meaning, and complete adaptation of the old name to the new thing, this important consequence follows : that metaphorical expressions may have become the adequate expression of a new fact for some persons, while for others they have retained all the transparency of their etymological value. For a Frenchman, *cornet* evokes the idea of a bit of paper twisted up into a cone ; a foreigner studying French will see in it *a little horn*, the diminutive of *corne*. Inversely, for the Germans the word *Würfel* exactly corresponds with the French word *dé* (*die, dice*) ; for a Frenchman studying German it will call up the image of an object that we throw (*werfen*). The same holds with a number of words which,

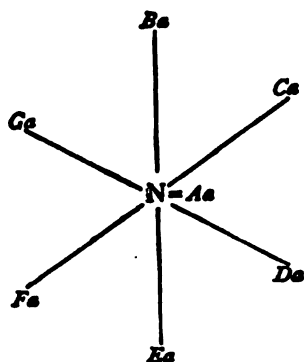
according to the greater or less frequency of their use, undergo a correspondingly more or less complete reduction to the unity of image. Thus in every language there exist words which do not exactly convey the same idea, the same image, to all—a noteworthy fact which well explains many a misunderstanding and many an error.

Here we touch on a cardinal point in the life of language : the relation of the word to the image it expresses. Words, the rude interpreters of the inner world of vague impressions and dim sensations dwelling in the depths of our thought, very often fail to reveal more than an infinitely small part thereof, that part which is most obvious and most easy to grasp. Herein we recognize the imperfection of the instrument called language; admirable as it is in so many other respects.

— 343. **COMPLEX MODIFICATIONS: RADIATION, CONCATENATION.**—Changes of sense are but seldom seen in the simple forms that we have just studied; they usually present far more complex forms, which are combined and overlap—radiation and concatenation.

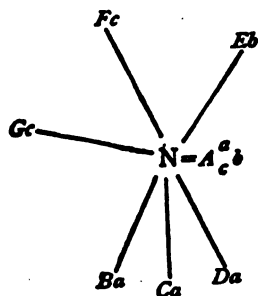
A. Radiation.—When an object gives its name to a series of other objects, because of some one character that is common to all, the process is termed radiation. The name radiates from the original object to all the others.

Examples.—Racine. The name *racine*, like its English equivalent *root* (of a plant), passes to *racine*, *root* of a word, of an algebraic quantity, of an evil, because the word, the algebraic quantity, the evil, are each considered as the development of one primitive element which is compared to the root of a plant. The following diagram will explain the matter :—



Let N be the name of a given object A , which, among other qualities, possesses a certain quality a . The name N will pass on to a number of other objects B, C, D, E, F, G , because each of these possesses the same quality a .

Again, the object A may have other characters b, c , each of which is common with it to one or more different objects or series of objects.



Then the object A will give its name N first to the objects B, C, D , because of their possessing the common character a , secondly to the object E because it possesses a second character b in common with A , and, finally, to a new series of objects F, G , which possess a third character c in common with A . Thus '*queue*,' *tail*, gives its name to a billiard *cue*, and the *tail* of a (political) party,

in respect of the common idea of end or extremity; to a *queue* at a theatre in respect of the idea of length and narrowness common to the file of people and the tail of an animal.

B. Concatenation. — In the process of concatenation (Fr. *enchaînement*) the original meaning of the word is lost after it has passed on to a second object through some one character common to both; then the name passes from the second object to a third on account of a different character, common to this and to the second object; this character is forgotten in turn, and so on.

Thus: *fermer* signifies *to fix, to make firm or fast*; *fermer une porte* meant originally *to fix the door in its frame*; then the primitive sense of *fixing* was lost; *fermer une porte* has become a synonym of *close* (*close*), and it is in this sense that we say figuratively *un parti fermé, fermer un compte* (*to close an account*), &c.

Ombreux signified originally *that casts a shadow, shady*: *arbre ombreux*; then *cheval ombreux*, originally a horse that sees its own shadow on the ground, came to mean, by extension, a horse that shies; in this case the idea of *ombre* is completely forgotten, and the expression *cheval ombreux* has led to the use of '*caractère ombreux*,' a character ready to take *umbrage*.

Mouchoir, handkerchief. The first meaning is the object with which a man wipes his nose (*se mouche*). Our customs have chanced to determine that the object should be a square piece of stuff, silk, cotton, cambric, &c. Hence, through a complete forgetfulness of the original idea, *mouchoir* only recalls the piece of stuff¹, and we say *mouchoir de cou*; then another lapse of meaning comes in: the handkerchief tied round a woman's neck falls in a tri-

¹ [In the last century the lapse of the original meaning was not yet complete, and alterations were necessary in adapting 'Othello' for the French stage, as the primitive idea, still perceptible, of 'moucher' in *mouchoir* was inconsistent with the dignity of French tragedy.]

angular point on the shoulders, and hence *mouchoir* takes in seafaring language the new meaning of a triangular piece of wood (*angle-board* of the cut-water)¹.

Concatenation may be represented by the following diagram :

$$N = \underbrace{Aa} \text{---} \underbrace{aBb} \text{---} \underbrace{bCc} \text{---} \underbrace{cDd} \text{---} \underbrace{dEe} \text{---} \underbrace{eF}$$

Let *N* be the name (say *mouchoir*); *A* the object it first represents, possessing a characteristic attribute (from *se moucher*). Then the name will pass on by radiation to the object *B* (neckerchief), because of the new property *a* (both being small squares or oblongs of light stuff). The object *B* (neckerchief) has another quality *c* (when folded it has a triangular form), which is common to it with a third object *C* (the triangular board); hence the name *N* passes by concatenation from *B* to *C*. So the name *N* might pass on to *D*, *E*, *F*, in the same way.

Closely scanned, we find that concatenation is really a descending series of radiations, in which each term is taken in turn as a primitive starting-point through oblivion of its origin. The characters which serve in turn to transfer the name from one object to another may be any whatever, and are mostly unrelated to one another. Hence they may lead to the oddest apparent inconsistencies.

Chasser (Lat. *captare*) signifies properly 'to try to seize'; now we say *chasser un domestique* (to turn away a servant²). *Cadran* (Lat. *quadrans*) signifies properly a rectangular surface, although our *dials*, *cadrans*, are circular.

The contradictions are easy to explain.

¹ [The transformations of 'kerchief' in England are equally interesting. Etymologically, it is a juxtaposite of the imperative and its object : *couvre-chef*, cover-head. The word passed on to designate the piece of stuff used, whence the new juxtaposites of substantives, *neckerchief*, *handkerchief*, *pocket-handkerchief*, in which the sense of head-covering is lost; nay, we find that 'coloured handkerchiefs are worn as head-gear by the negroes in the West Indies.']

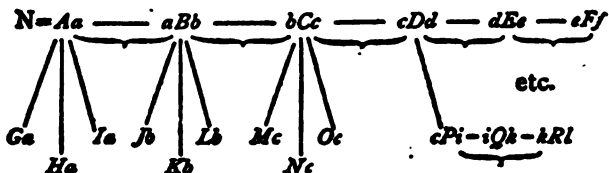
² [Cf. Irish-English 'to hunt' a servant, or beggar.]

Chasser originally signified 'to try to *seize* or *capture*': *chasser le cerf*; hence its new sense *chasser l'ennemi*, meaning either to try to catch him or put him to flight; the last sense leads to the phrases *chasser un importun*, *chasser un domestique*, where *chasser* means to cause his hurried departure.

The first dials were sun-dials with a rectangular surface. Next, the rectangular outline was forgotten and *cadran* came to mean the surface on which the hours were marked. Hence the use of the word *cadran* for the faces of clocks, watches, &c., on which the hours are marked as on sun-dials, but pointed to by the motion of the hands; and, as it happens, this face is circular. As the original meaning of 'rectangular surface' is forgotten in the language, there has ceased to be any inconsistency in this case.

For similar reasons we use such expressions as *pavé en bois*, *cheval ferré d'argent*, *être à cheval sur un âne*, &c. *Pavé* does not now denote a rectangular compact stone (*self*), but any hard compact block used to cover the roadway. *Ferrer un cheval* does not mean to have him shod with a *certain object* made of iron, *fer*, but only with this object, of no matter what material it is made. In *être à cheval sur un âne*, *être à cheval* simply means 'to bestride.'

Radiation and concatenation are generally mixed and combined as shown in the following diagram, which represents an imaginary series of changes:



The name *N* of the object *A* will thus pass, by radiation and concatenation branching in different directions, from the object *A* to all the objects *B*, *C*, *D* . . . *Q*, *R*, &c., successively.

. Take for example *timbre*, which originally signified a drum; this by concatenation comes to signify a clapperless bell struck from without by a hammer; the sound given out by this bell; the sonorous quality of an instrument or a voice; the physical character of a sound exclusive of its pitch, intensity, and duration, and depending on the harmonics which co-exist with the fundamental note; the first verse of a well-known ballad (*vaudeville*) written above other words to indicate the tune to which these last may be sung. Then, by radiation and concatenation, it signifies the rounded form of a bell, the rounded form of a helmet, the crest of a helmet, the crest in heraldry, that is, any ornament placed above the shield in armorial bearings; the official mark stamped on paper, which the law renders obligatory for legal documents, &c.; a private mark stamped by each post-office upon letters. Hence *bureau du timbre* (*stamp-office*), *instrument à timbrer* (*stamping-press*), *timbre-poste* (*postage-stamp*), *timbre-quittance* (*receipt-stamp*), &c.

344. CONCLUSION.—Such are the logical processes employed singly, or in combination, by the language, to extend the various meanings of words. Sometimes the mind limits the horizon of a term by absorbing the determinant in the determinate, or the determinate in the determinant. Sometimes it enlarges the function of a word, extending its application to different objects by following some constant relation (metonymy) or some analogy (metaphor), which it finds between the object designated and these other new objects. The former process generally gives a new fulness and concision to the expression, condensing two ideas into one. The latter gives it a relief which takes hold of the imagination. Of these processes metaphor plays by far the more important part. It has the function of substituting for the dry abstraction or the simple expression of a fact the colour and brightness

of a picture ; but above all it gives language the power of expressing abstract ideas. It is especially by the use of metaphor that man is enabled to communicate to his fellows the world of invisible, intangible thought that dwells in his mind.

Everywhere the fundamental condition of all these changes is the co-existence of two intellectual elements, the one principal, the other accessory. In time, by unconscious advances, the mind loses sight of the former and only considers the latter, which either drives out the other or restricts its value. Under cover of the one physiological fact—*the word*—the mind thus passes from one idea to another.

II. The Causes of Changes in Meaning.

The causes that determine changes in meaning are of two kinds: Historical and Psychological.

345. HISTORICAL CAUSES.—The development of civilization introduces into every nation a vast number of new ideas and new facts that constitute the ever-shifting ground-work of their moral history.

If we confine ourselves to France, we first find Christianity bringing in a whole new world of moral ideas ; and the Latin language transforming a vast number of expressions so as to make them the equivalents of these new ideas. Thus *édification*, meaning literally 'building up' ; *transgression*, literally 'the action of crossing, overstepping' ; *prévarication*, literally 'walking crooked' ; and many others of the same kind.

And the vocabularies of feudalism, of political institutions, of law, of scholastic philosophy, and the sciences of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, of medicine and astrology, offer us quite as many curious facts for analysis and reflec-

tion: the history of thought is echoed in the language. Thus in every language there are many words which, though silent to those who now use them, revive under the gaze of the historian, and reveal with their own history the tale of bygone manners and of a bygone civilization. Take for instance the word *parole*; in its present meaning it tells us nothing. But in its etymology we at once see the Christian *parabola*, the preaching of the Gospel with its parables (the primitive meaning of *parole* in French was 'sentence').

All the rustic royalty of the Merovingians comes back to us in *vile* (*villa* = *homestead*) and *cour* (O.F. *court*, Lat. *cortem*, *cohortem*, as in *basse-cour*, *farm-yard*), in *connétable* (*comes stabuli*, *the chief of the stable*), and in *le maréchal* (*the groom*).

The history of the changes in the sense of the word *livre* would be a complete epitome of the history of the currency and coinage of French money from the time of the Carolingians till the present.

The progress in the material conditions of existence is shown in the new meaning of *viande* (and the English *meat*), which from 'food' in general came to mean '*the food par excellence*' derived from the flesh of animals. Progress in general education is attested by the word *librairie*, which during the Middle Ages signified 'library' (Mod. F. 'bibliothèque'), but now a 'bookseller's shop.' There is nothing more fascinating than the study of these changes in meaning, which revive the long-vanished past.

346. PSYCHOLOGICAL MODIFICATIONS.—Next to the above changes, brought about by external modifications, come those introduced by the language into various words to express ideas and facts that are unchanging.

With every nation there exists a certain number of abstract ideas or of simple fixed emotions which know of no change, of concepts which have no reason for modifica-

tion, because these ideas, emotions, and concepts correspond to permanent conditions of the mind and soul. And yet the expressions of these ideas, concepts, and emotions have been subject to change. Here we are brought into contact with those mysterious deep-lying causes which reveal to us the mode of feeling of a people. One example will suffice to demonstrate both the character and importance of this study.

When we compare the French preposition *à* with the English preposition *to*, we find that originally both words denoted the idea of direction from one point towards another. In the figurative use of the English *to*, this relation is always felt and present to the mind; its transformations may be represented by a straight line. But, while English has remained faithful to the first image called up by the preposition, the French mind, with the suppleness and mobility characteristic of the genius of the people, wanders complacently away through the by-paths of subtle analogies, and says not only '*aller à Paris*,' but '*être à Paris*,' '*se mettre au lit*,' '*travailler à la lumière d'une lampe*,' '*courir à toute force*,' '*se battre à l'épée*,' '*l'homme au manteau rouge*,' &c. In English various prepositions, *to*, *in*, *into*, *by*, *at*, *with*, &c., would be used for the single word *à*.

The same remark applies to a host of words, both of Learned and of Popular formation, whose variations in meaning reflect the genius and the turn of mind of the people that use them.

III. Philological Conditions.

347. NEOLOGISMS.—How does a newly-coined word or meaning make its way into a language? How does it find its proper place therein?

If a new word pleases the circle of persons who hear or read it for the first time, it may spread little by little

among an ever-widening public, and become the fashion; then, if it corresponds with any lasting idea or emotion, it is likely to maintain itself in the language.

Now the centres of formation are innumerable: Fashionable society (*la société élégante*), the political world, the army, the workshop, country life, &c.; as many as are the separate groups of people and occupations, so many are the different centres of neologisms.

Of these neologisms the fancies of the moment appear only to die. Others, such as technical terms, hold their ground for a longer or shorter time in the circle where they were born; live even for long years or centuries in that narrow world without ever leaving it. Others break their bounds, steal into wider circles, and sometimes, favoured by circumstances, gain civic rights in the common speech and help to enrich its treasury. Among these last we must note such neologisms as answer to a general want, and, created on many sides at once, spring in full panoply from a thousand brains. These are the favoured daughters of fortune. As a rule, the more limited the circle in which these expressions are used, the smaller is their chance of survival. A neologism is a plant which, in order to live, must needs strike root into the greatest possible number of minds.

Once adopted by general usage, neologisms obtain civic rights; the metaphors become consecrated, and can be no longer changed. When, for instance, it was necessary to find a name for large plates of glass (*Fr. tables de verre*), they might have been called *tables*, as being great tables of glass, or *verrières*, being made of *verre*, or *réflecteurs*, since they reflect images; they were actually compared to sheets of frozen water (*nappes d'eau glacée*), and have been called *glaces*. The metaphor was admitted; henceforth it could no longer be changed.

What then should be our conduct in regard to neologisms? Should we accept them or reject them

indifferently? To answer this question we must first draw a distinction between *literary* neologisms and *popular* neologisms.

348. LITERARY NEOLOGISMS.—The literary neologism is the work of the author, who creates a new word or uses an old one in a new sense at his own risk and peril. He must be able to justify the liberty he has taken with the language by the value of the neologism. The word must be the clearest, strongest, most picturesque expression of the idea to be represented. Under such conditions the neologism will deserve to live.

349. POPULAR NEOLOGISMS.—A popular neologism, when expressing a new fact, is legitimate and should be immediately accepted. But, should it only express an existing fact *in a different way*, we must resist its introduction as long as we can, and only give way when it has been adopted by the majority. The people are sovereign in matters of language; their errors even, once adopted, become law. But to the revolutionary forces, which are sweeping on the Popular language only too fast, we must oppose the respect for tradition; for the most precious interests of the literature are at stake.

From this point of view the language offers numerous subjects for research and study. One of the most fertile is that of figures of speech. From the various occupations of the people there have grown up by usage whole series of metaphors, expressions displaying picturesqueness and ingenuity in more or less degree, which reveal the turn of mind and habits of thought of the people. Sport has given to French: *abois*, *acharner*, (*être à l'*) *affût*, *ahurir*, *amadouer*, *amorcer*, *appât*, *battue*, *béjaune*, *blottir*, (*aller sur les*) *brisées*, *butor*, *curée*, *dresser*, *émérilloné*, *filet*, *furter*, *hérissier*, *hobereau*, (*rendre*) *gorge*, *gorge* (*chaude*), *hagard*, *gibier*, *leurre*, *limier*, *niais*, *parquer*, *ramage*, *sacre*, *serres*; *siller*, O.F. *ciller* (*le faucon*), whence. *dessiller*; *tanière*, *vol*

(oiseau de haut, de bas vol), &c. Navigation has given : *aborder, s'affaler, ancrer, appareiller, arriver, bourrasque, caler, chavirer, démarrer, embarquer, échouer, équiper, filer (to track), (veiller au) grain (to look out for squalls), piloter, sonder, virer.*

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIETY OF WORDS

350. Contagion.—351. Reaction.—352. Struggle for existence.—353. Synonymy.—354. The three classes of synonyms.

WE THINK not in isolated ideas, but in judgements, which are combinations of ideas ; consequently in language we have recourse to combinations of words that follow the movements of thought. Hence arise all kinds of actions exercised by words on one another.

350. CONTAGION.—By the custom of the language one word may be habitually associated with another. The latter gradually penetrates the former, and saturates it with its own signification so as in time to give it a new value. Thus, the partitive substantives *pas* and *point* have passed from a positive to a negative signification from being associated with *ne* ; in this way also *aucun, personne, guère*, came to express the contrary of their primitive meaning (see Book IV, § 483).

The source of contagion need not be a word *expressed*. From a current phrase a new signification may arise affecting some word of the phrase and changing its value. *Avec* expresses a relation of contiguity : *se promener avec quelqu'un, avec un paquet sous le bras*. It comes (like its English equivalent *with*) to possess the sense of *malgré* (*despite*) : *avec toute sa science, il a échoué* (*with all his science*

he has failed); the complete idea would be '*avec toute sa science, il aurait dû réussir, et il a échoué*' (with all his science he should have succeeded, and he has failed).

The first meaning of *pour* is 'for, because of': *il se promène pour le plaisir qu'il y trouve*. In the sentence, '*Il ne se promène pas pour le plaisir qu'il y trouverait*,' which is equivalent to '*il ne se promène pas alors qu'il pourrait ou devrait le faire pour le plaisir qu'il y trouverait*,' the meaning of the preposition has already undergone some change; and it has come to have the meaning 'in spite of' in: *Pour agréable que soit la promenade, il n'en reste pas moins à la maison* (for all the pleasantness of the walk, he stays at home). It is the same in Corneille's line:

'Pour grands que soient les rois, ils sont ce que nous sommes,'
(*Cid*, act. i, sc. 3.)

('For all their greatness, kings are what we are!')

It is by the arrangement and combination of terms that the language comes to evolve unexpressed senses and new shades of meaning. It is by this same joint action of the phrase as a whole that the author can exert a personal action upon words, change their significance, and give them a whole series of new meanings.

351. REACTION.—Even apart from sentences, words may react upon each other in various ways. Thus words united by some relation of form or meaning receive by a rebound, as it were, the meanings or uses which are the property of only one of them.

Oriental pearls are celebrated for their lustre. Hence *perle orientale* takes the sense of *perle brillante*, and, *oriental* having now the sense of 'lustrous,' *orient* by the recoil comes to receive a corresponding sense of 'lustre,' and we say *l'orient d'une perle*.

Les Indes Occidentales—the West Indies—was the early

¹ [Notice the parallel transformation in sense of the English *for*.]

name given to America ; and, by opposition, India proper gained the name of *Indes Orientales*, the East Indies.

In the last century the adjective *noble* was applied to those birds of prey that were used in hunting ; the other birds of prey, by simple antithesis, came to be called *ignobles*.

A word may come to possess a double meaning, and according to the context convey either a given idea or its counterpart. Thus *bourgeois*, a burgess, a middle-class citizen, will be alternately a name of honour or contempt according to the intention of the speaker, who may contrast it either with the peasant or the noble.

Again, the different senses of the radical may react on the proper senses of its derivatives and transform them. *Apéritif* in medicine is an *aperient*, an opening medicine that clears away obstructions. Popular usage has made it an *appetiser*, as 'opening the orifice of the stomach' (Walter Scott).

Again, there may be a confusion between two words wrongly associated. *Mignard* has acted on *miniature*, a painting in red lead (*minium*), and changed it into 'minute painting' ; *souffreteux*, from the O.F. *souffraite* (*famine*), is wrongly referred to *souffrir*, and has come to mean 'habitually ailing.'

However, these reactions of words on one another are relatively rare. Mostly words of the same family run their individual course, each going its own way unaffected by whatever accidents may befall the other members. *Meurtre* (*homicide*) retains its etymological signification, which is lost in *meurtrir* (*to bruise*). *Avaler*, originally to cause to go 'down vale,' 'down stream,' has assumed a new meaning, 'to swallow,' but *aval* (*down-stream*), *ravaler* (*to put down again, to take down*), *ravalement* (*pulling or taking down, depreciation, &c.*), have not been affected thereby'.

' [The phrase *Avalco-vous* ! has been heard from a *diligence* guard in the sense of *to get down*.]

Garnement has forgotten its primitive sense given by its radical *garnir* to assume a quite different and peculiar meaning¹. *Ouvrer* (*to work*) has become obsolete, while its derivatives *ouvrier*, *ouvrage*, *ouvrable*, are preserved. The cause of this is that words owe their individual existence to man's intellect. Speech evolves from ideas and not from words; and the former are independent of the latter. The relationship which may exist and unite words into groups according to their form has nothing in common with the groups of ideas which it is their function to express.

352. STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.—The struggle for existence is manifest in the history of words.

Down to the 16th century the preposition *en* expressed all the relations of the modern *dans*, which was not then in use. By the side of *en* was used *dedans*, which was at the same time an adverb and a preposition. *En*, in combination with the article *le*, *la*, *les* (contracted into *ou*, *es*), was lost in the 16th century and was replaced by *dans le* and *dans les* (Book II, § 199, 4). *Dans* being in this case followed by the article, it assumed a definite signification, and by opposition *en* took a more and more indefinite one. On the other hand, *dedans*, which was both adverb and preposition, became useless as a preposition, and, from the 17th century, only retained the function of an adverb. Thus it was that these three words ended by having their several functions restricted and limited (see Book IV, § 468).

Take now the group *ouïr*, *entendre*, and *comprendre*. *Ouïr* (Lat. *audire*), *to hear*, gradually became obsolete towards the 16th and 17th century; it was replaced by *entendre* (Lat. *intelligere*), which had the meaning *to understand*. *Entendre* having thus assumed the meaning of *ouïr*, it was

¹ *Garnement* originally meant *that which protects (garnit)*, hence *accoutrement*, and hence *soldier*. The phrase *mauvais garnement* became habitual, and, with the ellipse of *mauvais*, *garnement* now means a discreditable person.

necessary to replace it in the sense of *intelligere*, and so the language introduced *comprendre*; *comprendre* properly means *to grasp, or seize, and hold the whole*, to which sense that of *intelligere* was henceforward added.

It is in the Learned formation of words that the struggle is especially apparent. It is easy to see the competition which arose between popular and foreign words, and how the latter gradually contracted the domain of the former. The idea of *swimming* was expressed in Old French by the verb *nouer*, from the Latin *natare*; and that of *sailing, navigating*, by *nager*, from the Latin *navigare*. *Nouer* (*to swim*) having disappeared, the verb *nager* came to signify both *navigare* and *natare*. Then the verb of Learned formation, *naviguer*, penetrates into the language, and robs *nager* of its etymological sense, leaving it only the later meaning of *natare*, which it had previously inherited from *nouer*. The language offers many similar facts.

353. **SYNONYMY.** — At first sight there is something paradoxical in the co-existence of words possessing the same meaning. But a little reflection shows that in a well-constructed language each word has its proper function, and that there are no *perfect* synonyms. No doubt in the French language, as in others, we find many different terms to designate one and the same object. A given plant, or implement, or industrial product, has, it may be, five or six or eight different names, but these names find their proper uses in different places or in different trades. Each group of men employs but one single term for the same purpose. It is true again that the way in which the literary language has flooded the popular language has brought into French a host of doublets and synonyms, and that, taken by themselves, these expressions for the most part designate exactly the same thing. But the very fact that one of the two series belongs to Popular language, and the other to

the Learned didactic language, is enough to show that there is a difference of employment, if not of shade, between them.

As a matter of fact there cannot be permanently in ordinary language two perfect synonyms, unless one be all but out of use ; if two are employed at the same time the perfect synonymy cannot last long ; the language will not load itself with a useless burden, and will lighten itself either by getting rid of one of the terms altogether, or by giving it a new sense.

354. THE THREE CLASSES OF SYNONYMS.—Synonyms may be divided into three classes.

1. *The same word takes two different forms by the accidents of etymological formation.*

Take for example the verb *plier* :

In Old French the present indicative was conjugated : *Je plie, tu plies, il plie, nous ployons, vous ployez, ils plient* ; the present subjunctive : *que je pli, que tu plis, qu'il plit, que nous ployons, que vous ployez, qu'ils plient* ; the imperative : *plie, ployons, ployez* ; in the rest of the conjugation the radical was *ploy*. So with *prier* and *proier*, *noier* (a) (to say no, Lat. *negare*), *noier* (b) (to drown, Lat. *necare*).

At the end of the Middle Ages the language found itself embarrassed with these double forms, and made them into two series of verbs : *plier* and *ployer*, *prier* and *proyer*, *nier* and *noyer* (a), and *nier* and *noyer* (b). Of these three last verbs the language suppressed one of the two forms in each case as useless, keeping *prier*, *nier* (a), and *noyer* (b). As the language kept both forms of the first verb, it gave them different functions :

Plier, to fold, to double an article by folding one of its surfaces against another.

Ployer, to bend an object which offers resistance.

Similarly phonetic doublets, such as *chaise* (chair) and *chaire* (seat of office) from *cathedra*, *col* (collar) and *cou* (neck) from *collum*, came to be used with different meanings¹.

¹ See Appendix I, on 'Doublets,' p. 56a.

To this group belong a number of doublets of which one may be traced back to Popular Latin, others to the learned formation or foreign languages.

Ex.: *sécurité* and *sûreté* (Lat. *securitatem*).

fragile and *frêle* (Lat. *fragilem*).

rigide and *raide* (Lat. *rigidum*).

housse (reliquary, and hence *setting*) and *caisse* (case, box) (Prov. *caisso*, from Lat. *capsa*).

champ and *camp* (Ital. *campo*, from Lat. *campum*).

table and *tôle* (sheet-iron) (Walloon *taule*, from Lat. *tabula*).

lame, *duègne* (Sp. *dueña*, from Lat. *domina*).

It is only exceptionally that these phonetic doublets are true synonyms.

c. *The radical is modified by different affixes or by different syntactical constructions.*

Thus: (a) *porter*, to carry, take; *apporter*, to bring; *prononcer*, to pronounce; *énoncer*, to enunciate; *courber*, to bend; *recourber*, to bend back; *malhonnête*, dishonest, rude; *honnête*, immodest; *règle*, a rule; *règlement*, a regulation; *cœur*, heart; *courage*, bravery.

b) *attaquer quelqu'un*, to attack; *s'attaquer à quelqu'un*, to fasten on to any one; *forcer à faire* and *forcer de faire*, to compel to do¹; *courir à l'ennemi*, to rush upon the foe; *chasser le cerf*, to hunt the stag; *sortir d'un lieu*, to leave a place; *sortir un objet*, to take out a thing; *monter au premier*, to take up (as well as, to go up) to the first floor; *monter l'escalier*, to go upstairs; *monter un cheval*, to ride a horse; *monter un magasin*, to fit up a shop.

In the majority of cases the affix or the construction gives us the key to the synonymy.

Take *porter* and *apporter*. You say: *portez-lui ce journal*, but not *apportez-lui ce journal*. Why? The difference must come from *à*, which indicates a motion of coming and not

There does not appear to be any distinction of sense between the two forms; but in modern practice *à* seems to be more used for the active, and *de* for the passive: *forcer à faire*, *être forcé de faire* (see Syntax, § 450).

of going. *Apporter* is equivalent to *venir porter* (come and carry), just as *attirer* is equivalent to *faire venir en tirant* (cause to come by drawing), and as *amener* is equivalent to *faire venir en menant* (cause to come by leading), &c.

Take *courber* and *recourber*. *Re-* indicates an opposition of two terms, so that *recourber* means to bend so as to bring two ends together.

Take again *règle* and *règlement*. *La règle*, rule, is the rod or ruler used to draw a straight line. Hence its figurative meaning: the principle by which we direct our conduct. *Règle* gives *régler*, *régler* gives *règlement*. *Règlement* (regulation) is therefore 'that which serves to rule (*régler*), that by which we rule'; it is the official expression of the rule.

From this series we may pass to examples of syntactical doublets in which a substantive is accompanied by an adjective which takes a different meaning according as it precedes or follows the substantive:

Un brave homme (an honest man), *un homme brave* (a brave man).

Un grand homme (a great man), *un homme grand* (a tall man), &c.

When the adjective immediately precedes the substantive it is qualificative, and forms with it a sort of composite locution which may take a special meaning. When the adjective follows the substantive it is attributive and retains the signification it has by itself; for from a syntactic point of view it is separated from the substantive by a statement understood: *un homme grand* is equivalent to *un homme qui est grand*¹.

Next come those doublets which differ only by a slight difference in their terminations:

¹ [In the expression *un savant aveugle*, if *savant* is slurred with *aveugle* (*savan-aveugle*) it is an adjective; *aveugle* is then the substantive and the signification is 'a learned blind man.' But, if we make a pause between the two words, *aveugle* will become the adjective and *savant* the substantive: *un savant | aveugle*, i.e. *un savant qui est aveugle*, 'a blind scholar.' —*Life of Words*, p. 123.]

cerveau
cours
escabeau

cervelle
course
*escabelle*¹

The synonymy of these can only be established by the custom of the language. In this case etymology gives us no clue whatever.

3. *Words differing in their etymology, and originally in signification, have come in the course of their history to overlap or coincide, so as to designate the same object.*

At this point we meet with what are generally called synonyms, that is words which, though differing in their etymology and their original signification, may yet be applied to one and the same object or idea. Such are :

assurer, affirmer, certifier.
peine, chagrin, douleur, souffrance.
attrait, charme, séduction.
orgueilleux, superbe, altier, vain, vaniteux.
fourberie, ruse, malice.
resler, demeurer, habiter, loger, &c.

In order to solve the problem of these synonymies we must consult the history of the synonymous terms on the one hand, and analyze their present significations on the other. By examining closely the employment of such terms we find that they present more or less important differences in shade of meaning ; and that these are usually due to the original significations, some part of which is retained even in the widest divergence therefrom. These words are synonyms at the point where they overlap, and may be applied to the same object ; but even then each presents the object under its own peculiar aspect and with its own peculiar shade of meaning, due to the original signification.

¹ It is impossible to distinguish the senses of these words briefly ; consult the *Dictionnaire Général* of Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas.

Take, for instance, the three words: *guider*, *mener*, *conduire*.

Let us first consider the present usage of the language. *Guider* carries with it the idea of ignorance on the part of the person requiring guidance. We take a *guide* when we do not know the way. A beginner must be *guided*. In every acceptation of this word ignorance is implied. Therefore *guider* signifies 'to take with one a person who is ignorant, who does not know.'

Conduire implies direction. *Conduire* is to take a person with one, directing him as his chief: *un général conduit les soldats à la victoire, on conduit un dessein*, &c.

Mener is to take with one a person who allows himself to be taken, a being who yields or resigns himself. *On mène l'animal à la boucherie, les bestiaux aux champs*.

Thus these three words all signify 'to take with one,' *faire aller avec soi*. But in using the first a stress is laid on the idea of ignorance on the part of the individual who is the object of the action; in using the second a stress is laid on the idea of direction from the person who is the subject of the action; in using the third we lay a stress on the idea of impulsion passively submitted to by the individual affected by the action. Such is the solution of this particular synonymy yielded by the examination of its present uses.

Now, turning to history, that is, etymology, we find that *conduire* comes from the Latin *conducere*, i. e. *cum ducere*, in which *cum* denotes the idea of 'with' and *ducere* the idea of 'leading': 'as a leader to take with one.'

History tells us that *mener* was first used with regard to the flocks or herds which the herdsman drives before him. This is the primitive sense in Popular Latin, and the idea of unconscious movement, such as that of a herd of cattle, dominates the most remote of the derived meanings. It is on this primitive sense that is founded the celebrated phrase: *L'homme s'agile et Dieu le mène* (*Man resteth not, but God leads him*).

The word *guider* comes from the Italian *guidare*, used in the same sense. The historical problem cannot here be solved through the French; but we may note that the Italian word is derived from a Germanic word whose radical signifies 'to observe, to note.'

Thus it is that the exact analysis of the present significations, and the investigation of the primitive meanings of synonyms, usually assist and support one another.

This method is applicable to the investigation of all cases of synonyms, and its use is, in fact, only a particular case of a more general study. A language can only be completely understood when we have arrived at the rigorous and exact determination of the meanings of the words of its vocabulary. It is only through exact definitions conveying the exact determination of the senses of each term, and all the ideas that it embraces, that we can reach the treasure of the full knowledge of the language. For these definitions alone allow us to follow up the relations between the figurative uses and the literal sense of the word, and to grasp the unconscious analogies and the secret instincts that guide the language in the transformations of meanings.

CHAPTER III

HOW WORDS DIE

355. Historical words.—356. General terms.—357. Causes of destruction.—358. How the disappearance of words is effected.

THE disappearance of words is called, in the study of language, *desuetude* or *disuse*. How and why does this disuse come about?

When words disappear we must distinguish between words which perish because they designate things that disappear, and words which give place to others while

expressing permanent ideas. In the first case there is the loss at once of a fact and of a word, and in the second there is only a change in the expression of a fact which remains.

355. HISTORICAL WORDS.—Words which fall out of use with the things which they designate may be said to perish from historic causes. These we may term *historical words*. Thus a whole section of the vocabulary of the Middle Ages has disappeared because it represented things (arms, instruments, coins, garments), institutions, social facts, or ideas (of feudalism, law, learning, &c.), which disappeared with the Middle Ages.

These words can only return to life by the help of historical research, when it causes these vanished objects to reappear and recalls their names to life. Such names, resuscitated by learned investigation, enter into a limited currency within a narrow circle of learned and literary men.

Consequently there must be many names of things which have necessarily disappeared beyond recall when these names have not been preserved in written documents. When, in the discoveries due to archaeological research, such objects are brought to light, we are obliged to give them new names in our absolute ignorance of the old names that denoted them.

Another consequence is that we find in documents a number of words denoting objects of which we cannot comprehend the meanings. Thus we may know that a given word means, for instance, a weapon or a fabric, but not what kind of weapon or fabric. Hence the obscurity which attaches to certain texts of the Middle Ages.

356. GENERAL TERMS.—We have now to ask how words disappear though expressing general and durable ideas. The loss of the word is due to a loss in meaning. First comes decay and then death.

In the healthy state the signification of a word grows and developes without losing anything of its original value. *Arbre* by the side of its primitive meaning takes new meanings : as in *arbre de couche* (*shaft*), *arbre généalogique*. *Corps* (*body*) in the same way became *corps de garde*, *corps d'armée*, *corps de pompe* (*the barrel of a pump*), *corps de bâtiment* (*a detached set of buildings*), &c.

Éclat (*splinter, shard, a fragment struck off by a blow*), whilst preserving its primitive sense, was applied in the 15th century to a sudden noise striking the ear : *éclat de voix*; in the 17th century it was applied to light : *l'éclat du soleil, des couleurs* (*the brightness of the sun, &c.*). These are words in the vigour of health. But there are others which already begin to grow feeble ; they lose in one way as much as they gain in another.

	Obsolete meaning.	New meaning.
<i>chapeau</i>	garland	hat, bonnet
<i>chélif</i>	captive	weakly
<i>fripon</i>	glutton	rogue
<i>poison</i>	potion, draught	poison

Such is the case with *démanteler une forteresse*—we lose sight of the etymological sense 'to dis-mantle' ; in *sevrer* (*to wean*) we lose sight of *séparer* (from the mother's breast). These are cases of the pathology of the language, since the present meanings of the word are no longer self-evident, and can only be explained by a reference to its past history.

Lastly, a word dies when all its significations are lost, and it is cast off as mere lumber. To realize this we need only turn to the end of the chapter *De quelques usages* in *Les Caractères* of La Bruyère, or to the pages of any Old-French Dictionary.

357. CAUSES OF DESTRUCTION.—How do the causes of destruction act ?

1. Certain words have in themselves germs of death, and in such cases the language replaces them as best it can.

(a) In this series may be found, first, words that were *too short or too weak in sound*, and which during the Gallo-Romanic period could not resist the destructive action of phonetic laws. Thus Latin words such as *apem* (*bee*), *avem* (*bird*), *opem* (*help*), *ovem* (*sheep*), *ire* (*to go*), *edere* (*to eat*), &c., have given way either to synonyms or to derivatives that were more sonorous and resisting than the original (*abeille*, *oiseau*, *secours*, *brebis*, *aller*, *manger*).

(b) The signification of the words has often played its part in the matter. We refer to the *fading of the image* awakened by the word. Popular language objects to express things in a simple manner; it prefers the use of metaphors, which by comparisons call up a set of ideas and images. Now metaphors are short-lived, and wear out quickly, one of the two terms of the comparison being forgotten so that the word may be an exact representative of the object (see § 342).

Hence such substitutions as the following are made.

The Latin *caput*, *chief*, was replaced through the coarse, wholly popular, metaphor of *testa* (*potsherd*), which became *tête* [cf. the vulgar English *nut*]. The word *chief* itself attained a purely abstract signification. At the present day in the word *tête* the sense of a metaphor has been lost, and in the popular language *boule* (*ball*, cf. English *knob*) is used as a substitute.

The Latin word *cutis* (*skin*) has been replaced by *pellis* (*pelt* or *fur*), *peau*.

So *gena* (*cheek*) has been replaced by *gabata*, *joue* (properly *porringer*); *pectus* (*chest*) by *pectorina*, *poitrine* (properly *cuirasse*); *crus* (*leg*), in Spain by *perna* (*ham*), in Gaul by *gamba* (*knee-cap*), *jambe*. Nowadays the people instead of *jambe* use *quille* (*skittle*, *pin*).

(c) Finally, many words have fallen out of use, some having become sacred, others polluted by some special employment.

Urbs in Latin designated Rome alone, 'the City,' that

is, the city *par excellence* ; to designate other towns recourse was had to other words : *civitas* became in French *cité* ; *villa* (*homestead, steading*) in the Merovingian era became *ville*.

Verbum became a sacred word : *le Verbe* (*the Word* or *Logos*). The popular tongue dared no longer give it the ordinary meaning of 'word,' but replaced *verbe* in this sense by *parabola* (*sentiment, thought*), turning this term of Christian origin aside from its own meaning, and making its French form, *parole*, the equivalent of the Latin *verbum*.

We pass to examples of the opposite order. *Euphemism* arrives at a similar result through the substitution, for a word defiled by an unpleasant or gross idea, of another word which has a harmless signification, and which by a discreet allusion recalls the word we wish to avoid. But, by the inevitable progress which we have analyzed, this new word is in its turn gradually penetrated by the old idea and defiled by its contact, and finally disappears, to give place in turn to another synonym which is destined to a similar fate¹.

2. Certain words are overcome by other more fortunate ones, which lay hold of their signification and, as it were, feed on their vitals, and thus cause them to die from exhaustion.

Sometimes the new word comes into use for special reasons, and takes the place of another which might have lived had it not been for the oppression of its neighbour. This is how many popular words have disappeared or changed their meanings owing to the introduction of synonyms of Learned formation which have taken up their original meanings from them :

POPULAR FORMS.

mûreté (*ripeness*)

frélelé (*delicacy*)

LEARNED FORMS.

maturité (*maturity*)

fragilité (*fragility*)

¹ See *The Life of Words*, p. 152.

geindre (whimper, wail)*gémir* (groan)*monastier* (monastery, minster,*monastère* (monastery)

obs.)

franchir (to cross a boundary) *libérer* (to free)*nager* (to swim), &c.*naviguer* (to sail, navigate,
&c.).

The last case cited is the most frequent; but indeed it is often difficult to see why one of two words has disappeared before the other: whether the weakness of one has made the strength of the other, or vice versa. The process is doubtless a complex succession of actions and reactions.

358. HOW THE DISAPPEARANCE OF WORDS IS EFFECTED.

At a given moment a generation of men begins to abandon a given word because the idea it denotes is represented by another word. The coming generation will be still less familiar with it, and the time will arrive when it will be known only to the aged, who, as they pass away, will carry it with them to the grave. Thus disappear provincial dialects (*patois*) and languages. Let us suppose this disappearance of words to take place in the popular language except in a few districts here and there, and we get the archaisms of provincial dialects.

As a consequence of this process each period has its *antiquated words*, that is words that have grown old and are not in use among the new generation, but only employed by the aged. These words we term *archaic*; and unless literary action turns them back into the general stream of the language they are destined to utterly disappear.

We must now point out another common kind of archaism, an unconscious one, where the primitive meanings of certain words have only survived in a few special locutions in current use, and where even in these the primitive meanings are no longer recognized.

Every one knows that the preposition *en* is the synonym of *dans*. But how can we explain: *casque en tête, portrait*

on pied? In this case *en* has preserved the meaning of *sur* that it had in Old French: *seoir en cheval*, that is *sur un cheval*. This use of *en* is an archaism (see Book IV, § 467).

Cueillir (to cull) is generally understood to mean 'to pluck or pick' some natural product from a branch or the surface of the soil; however, we say *le marin cueille son cordage en rond, le verrier cueille son verre au bout de sa canne*; these archaisms may be traced back to the primitive sense of *cueillir*, to collect (colligere).

Dépit (vexation) signified originally *despite, disdain, contempt*—a forgotten meaning, even in *en dépit de* (in spite of), where it is still preserved.

Hasard was originally one particular throw (*coup*) in a particular game of dice, a meaning preserved unconsciously in the expression 'c'est un *coup de hasard* (a chance stroke),' in which *coup* also is no longer understood.

Such expressions as *règne animal, règne végétal, règne minéral*, show the archaic usage of the word *règne* (reign), which may be traced back to the period when *règne* signified *royaume* (realm, kingdom). Thus the language contains a number of such expressions which cannot be explained by its present laws; they are simply the débris of earlier formations.

APPENDIX I

DOUBLETS

FROM the summary history given of the vocabulary we may now detach one very curious fact, namely, the presence in the language of a word in two or more different forms. To these forms the name of doublets has been given, because as a rule we only find two words of the same etymology; they are also called divergent forms.

Doublets may be classified according to their origin

1. A Popular Latin word, in consequence of the different actions of phonetic or morphological laws, has led up in some cases to different French words:

cathedra	{ <i>chaise</i> <i>chaire</i>	plicare	{ <i>plier</i> <i>ployer</i>	collum	{ <i>col</i> <i>cou</i>
				gabata	{ <i>jatte</i> <i>joue</i>

With the changes in such a Latin word, that have given rise to more than one French word, we may compare the analogous phenomenon of a single primitive signification leading up to several new significations by different modes of development.

2. A word of Popular Latin in some cases became a French word at the same time that it assumed another form in a neighbouring dialect or language, and in this other form was adopted a second time by French.

domina	{	Fr.	<i>dame</i>
	{	Ital.	<i>donna</i> , Fr. <i>(ma)done</i> , <i>prima donna</i> .
	{	Sp.	<i>dueña</i> , Fr. <i>duègne</i> .
cassa	{	Fr.	<i>chasse</i>
	{	Prov.	<i>caisso</i> , Fr. <i>caisse</i> .
tabula	{	Fr.	<i>table</i>
	{	Walloon	<i>taule</i> , Fr. <i>table</i> .
episcopus	{	Fr.	<i>evêque</i>
	{	Germ.	<i>bischoff</i> , Fr. <i>bishoff</i> (name of a beverage).

3. A word introduced through the Popular tongue sometimes appeared a second time through the Learned formation; this is the most frequent case:

rationem	{ <i>raison</i> (Pop.) <i>ration</i> (Learned)	mobilem	{ <i>meuble</i> (Pop.) <i>mobile</i> (Learned)
fragilem	{ <i>frêle</i> (Pop.) <i>fragile</i> (Learned)	rigidum	{ <i>raide</i> (Pop.) <i>rigide</i> (Learned)

4. The Learned formation has in some cases borrowed the same word at different times in different forms.

Latin: *capitulum*. Learned formation, 9th century, *chapitre*; 18th century, *capitule*.

5. A word of Learned formation sometimes reappears in a form borrowed from a foreign language.

Latin: *titulum*. Learned formation, Middle Ages, *titre*; Span. *título*, Fr. *tîlle* (= the sign ~).

6. A foreign word may present itself in two or more forms in succession.

Old High German: *hariberga* (army-shelter). Fr. *alberge*, *auberge* (inn).

Middle High German: *heriberga*. Fr. *herberge* (shelter, refuge), whence *héberger*.

In the infinite multiplicity of facts that we find in the history of the French vocabulary through fifteen centuries, where words are born, die, pass from one language to another, often undergo transformations and deformations, and are exposed to countless accidents, this presence of doublets is not to be wondered at; the absence of such divergent forms would be the marvel.

APPENDIX II

THE PRINCIPLES OF ETYMOLOGY

WE know what are the various sources of the vocabulary.

Words of Popular Latin have become the corresponding French words through changes of pronunciation which were so regular as to form the basis of the absolute laws of phonetics. This first stock was enriched by means of Popular derivation and composition, by Learned formation, Latin and Greek, by borrowings from foreign languages, thus increasing enor-

mously the originally modest vocabulary of the French tongue. Etymological research is but one part of the great inquiry whose goal it is to follow out all forms of the language in their historical development.

In former times, before linguistics was constituted as a science, this research was usually a mere intellectual pastime, more or less ingenious or learned, and which aimed at determining, not so much whence a word came, as whence it might have come. It was a domain open to all the fancies and vagaries of hypothesis. At the present day it has become a rigorous science whose aim is to demonstrate, documents in hand, the derivation of each word from some other word. The following rules govern this science.

1. The word must be taken in its earliest form and its earliest signification, as they are found in the oldest documents where it occurs. As it may have changed both in form and in sense from that time to ours, to start from the present form and meaning of the word is wilfully to throw oneself in the way of error.

2. The word in its primitive form may suggest a given hypothesis. If it is supposed to be derived from the Latin, the Latin term must have followed the laws of phonetic change in its transformation into the modern form. There can be no exception unless one that can itself be justified by phonetics.

3. Agreement of form is not sufficient. There must be agreement of sense. Should the etymological signification not be that of the word in question, the deviation of sense must be justified by direct proofs, or by analogous exceptions.

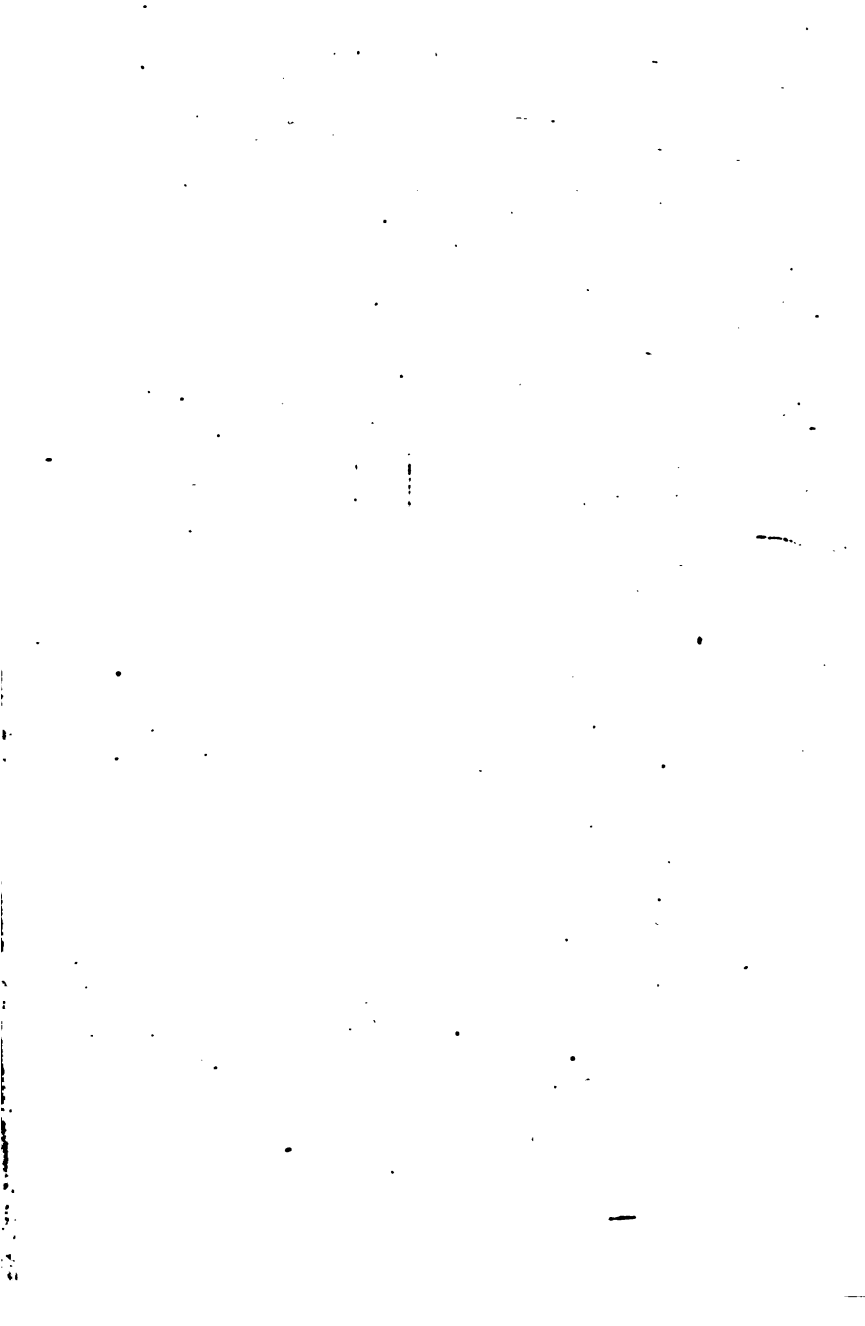
4. Should the word be connected with a foreign source, a historical explanation of the migration of the word into the language must be sought out. This importation having taken place at some definite time and place, historical research should reveal these conditions of time and place.

For instance, a Picard word might be traced to Flemish, a Gascon word to Basque; but to pretend that a given Picard word comes from Basque, or a given Gascon word from Flemish, would be such a subversion of the natural order of things that it could only be admitted on the strongest proof, on unimpeachable evidence of the path followed step by step by the foreign word. Certain scholars have derived French from Hebrew, pointing out likenesses between certain French roots

and analogous Hebrew roots. These could only prove that there was a mere casual approximation of sound between the two sets of roots. But to conclude therefrom that French comes from Hebrew is quite another matter. First, it would be necessary to demonstrate that Hebrew had been introduced into Gaul, that the Gallo-Romans were acquainted with Hebrew, and that through consecutive changes it was transformed into French. It is absolutely useless to refute assertions of this kind.

To sum up, etymological research should be founded solely on proofs derived from the history of the language; the etymologies thus found must not contradict the laws of phonetics, nor those of the general formation of words; they must strictly correspond with the primitive signification of the terms in question; they must be in accordance with the general development of the language. The appearance of a word is a historical fact which must be made out by historical proofs.

This study is therefore a work of high science, in which imagination must give way to strict criticism, aided by trustworthy and extensive information. A long course of reading of ancient texts; a thorough knowledge of the foreign languages which may have acted upon French; a sound knowledge of the Romance languages, including their most obscure dialects; a spirit of comparison, which in the absence of direct documents knows how to utilize all affinities with both languages and dialects: these are what science demands from one who wishes to make a serious study of French etymology.



BOOK IV

SYNTAX



INTRODUCTION

859. SYNTAX AND THE STUDY OF SYNTAX.—Words are formed to express ideas. But as we do not think in isolated ideas, but in judgements, which are combinations of ideas, we speak, not in isolated words, but in sentences. Words are therefore combined in a certain order, determined by the character of the particular language and the modes of speech which it adopts.

That part of the grammar which treats of this order of words has received the name of *Syntax*, from the Greek *Syntaxis* (combined arrangement¹).

Syntax is consequently that part of grammar which penetrates most deeply into the analysis of thought, since it has for its object the combination of words to express thought.

It may be either didactic or historical.

In *Didactic Syntax* we set forth the laws which at present govern the combination of words.

In *Historical Syntax* we seek to explain the present usages of the language by examining former usages.

In a sentence words are connected with one another by

¹ From σύν 'with,' and τάξις 'arrangement.' The stem of *taxis* is seen in the word 'tactics.'

a series of relations which may be classed under two chief heads: relations of co-ordination and relations of subordination.

The former comprise all the particular relations of agreement between the substantive and the adjective, and between the subject and the verb. The latter include all relations of dependence, those of subject to object, of a principal proposition to dependent or subordinate propositions¹.

In the last case, the relations may offer various degrees of complexity, as subordinate propositions may be connected with the principal ones in various degrees, while each proposition may be either simple or compound, positive or negative, direct or interrogative.

The complexity of the facts of syntax is such that every element of the proposition requires to be considered in its most varied aspects and correlated with other series of facts.

On the other hand, it is necessary to follow the language in its historical development.

Finally, in the analysis of detail we must never lose sight of the general logical principles by which Syntax is governed.

Hence our exposition of this part of the grammar must be treated from three different points of view. If we merely follow the logical order, which would appear to be simple enough, we soon lose sight of the historical development, and are lost in an infinite multiplicity of details of the language. If we consider each part of speech and study its historical development separately, we lose sight of the general laws of thought which govern the Syntax.

If, finally, we start from Latin Syntax, and seek to follow the transformation of the sentence through the

¹ [The word *proposition* in French is used to denote a grammatical sequence of words containing the finite part of a verb. The word has been used in the same sense in the translation.] —

course of time, until we reach the sentence in Modern French, we are checked by an endless number of scientific problems, most of which have not yet been solved.

Such are the difficulties we find in our efforts for a presentment of the facts, at once scientific, clear, and precise.

To solve these difficulties we should divide up our task ; we should first establish the general principles of logic by which Syntax is governed, and then study each part of speech in its historical development.

But these principles of logic are exposed in so many good grammars that we need only refer the student to these works¹.

We shall therefore proceed with the historical development of the Syntax of each of the parts of speech, and then consider the order of words in the sentence.

¹ See Ayer, *Grammaire comparée de la langue française*, 4th edition, Geneva and Lyons, 1885 [also Sweet, *New English Grammar*, part I. Clarendon Press, 1892, and Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, Macmillan & Co., 1892].

CHAPTER I

THE SUBSTANTIVE

360. The substantive.

I. GENDER.—361. The genders.

II. NUMBER.—362. Plural of proper nouns.—363. Plural of compound nouns.—364. Plural of abstract nouns.—365. Plural of concrete nouns taken in a general sense.—365 a. Distributive singular.—366. Nouns used only in the plural.

360. THE SUBSTANTIVE.—I. The substantive may be either the subject, the predicate, or the object of the verb: *Pierre est bon. Il est philosophe. Aimons nos parents.*

It may be replaced in these various functions (1) by an adjective taken substantively: we have already mentioned this substitution (Book II, § 123, I, and Book III, § 305) which is becoming more and more frequent at the present day: *le vague de ses pensées* (*the vagueness of his thoughts*); (2) by a pronoun (Book III, § 307): *le moi est haïssable* (*the I is hateful*); (3) by an infinitive (§ 308, IV): *mentir est un péché* (*to lie is a sin*); (4) either by a present participle or a past participle taken substantively (§ 308, I and II): *les aboutissants, un insurgé*; (5) by an indeclinable word (§ 309): *le dedans, les que, des holà*; (6) by a proposition: *ceux qui liront ce livre* instead of *les lecteurs de ce livre*.

II. The substantive is subject to two kinds of declension, declension in gender and declension in number.

I. Gender.

361. THE GENDERS.—The theory of gender has been explained in the study of French morphology (Book II,

§§ 151-165). We there examined not only the origin of French genders, but also the changes in gender introduced by certain syntactic uses. It was impossible to eliminate these particular cases from the study of the general theory, and in examining the forms we were obliged to work out their syntax.

With regard to number, on the contrary, we find that the theory of the plural depends in most cases on syntax and not on morphology.

II. Number.

362. PLURAL OF PROPER NOUNS.—Proper nouns of every kind followed in number the rule of common nouns in the Old Language and Middle French, and all took the sign of the plural¹. This usage was preserved down to the 17th century, and the original editions of the great writers show the almost constant application of this rule to proper names of persons or countries, whether used literally or figuratively. Racine still writes: *comparables aux Eschyles, aux Sophocles, aux Euripides, dont la fameuse Athènes ne s'honore pas moins que des Thémistocles, des Péricles, des Alcibiades qui vivoient en même temps* (comparable to the Aeschylus', the Sophocles', the Euripides', of whom famous Athens is no less proud than of the Themistocles', the Pericles', and the Alcibiades' who lived at the same time) (iv. 360).

However, we find from that time onwards that certain writers, and especially grammarians, show a tendency to make a distinction between the cases where the personal proper name designates the individual, and those where it designates a class of individuals. The authors of the *Grammaire de Port-Royal* [1660] observed that if, exceptionally, the proper names of persons are sometimes put in the plural, as in *les Césars, les Alexandres, les Platons*,

¹ Save, in some cases, foreign names whose form in the language they came from denoted the plural. Thus we find in the 16th century *les Valachi* side by side with *les Stroassis, les Médicis*.

it is merely by figure of speech, in order to comprehend all persons who resemble the person whose name is used.

This theory passed definitely into practice from the 18th century. But, as it was in contradiction with the habits of the language, all sorts of difficulties arose, and they are still the source of vain struggle amongst grammarians.

According to the new theory, proper names of individuals and families are not in general declined in the plural; and only take the sign of the plural when they refer to the several members of a family. Thus we find: *les Corneilles étaient de race bourgeoise*. But then why do we say: *les deux Corneille étaient frères*? From what number of individuals must we begin to use the plural? On the other hand, it is said that an *s* should be affixed in the case of either a royal or an illustrious family: *les Gracques, les Césars, les Bourbons, les Stuarts*. But at what degree of distinction does the rule begin to apply? We say, indeed, *les Bonaparte*; should we say *les deux Carnot* or *les deux Carnots*?

Again, why should the exceptions extend to the names of authors used to designate their works: *avoir plusieurs Virgiles* (editions of Virgil), *plusieurs Raphaëls* (paintings by Raphael); and to geographical names: *il y a plusieurs Cambridges en Amérique*?

This multiplicity of clashing and mutually destructive rules, which are mostly contradicted by the practice of writers, has arisen because grammarians have ignored the tendencies of the language, and have substituted logical for grammatical rules.

[The Latin scientific names of genera and species of animals and plants are not declined. *Les Blatta sont des Insectes*; *les Rubus ou Ronces sont des Rosacées*. Similarly foreign names of things are not declined in the plural so long as their foreign nature is felt.]

363. PLURAL OF COMPOUND NOUNS.—When compound

nouns are reduced by usage to simple words, there is no difficulty whatever: they are declined like simple nouns.

When, on the contrary, usage has kept the component elements separate, the various kinds of composition must be considered severally in order to determine the rules for the formation of their plurals.

I. In juxtaposites formed of a noun and an adjective, both elements are naturally declined: *des basses-tailles*, (*bas-reliefs*, *barytones*), *des coffres-forts* (*strong-boxes*).

In juxtaposites formed of two nouns, where the second depends on the first (Book III, § 281), naturally the first alone is declined: *des boîtes à lait*, *des moulins à vent*.

In figurative juxtaposites, that is such as imply a metonymy, a metaphor, or a synecdoche, it is again evident that the several constituents must be declined as if they were taken in their literal sense: *des rouges-gorges*¹ (*redbreasts*), *des pieds plats* (*low fellows*), *des becs-de-cane* (*duckbills*), &c.

Certain grammarians, not understanding this formation, have asserted that such words as *rouge-gorge* should be indeclinable in the plural. If this rule held good we should have to write: *Voilà deux gros-mangeur* (*there are two big eaters*), *ce sont deux bonne-fourchette* (*they are two valiant trenchermen*), or *quelles mauvaise tête* (*obstinate-temper*) *que ces enfants!*—which is not the practice.

II. In compounds formed by apposition both terms are declined alike, since the one term qualifies the other: *des chefs-lieux*.

The noun is usually declined in compounds formed:

(1) by a verb and a noun: *des chausse-trapes* (*calthrops*, *gins*), *des prête-noms*.

(2) by an adverb and a noun: *des arrière-cours*, *des avant-coureurs*.

¹ *Rouge-gorge* (*redbreast*); *rouge-aile* (*redwing*), *rouge-queue* (*redstart*), having really become simple words, as we see by the change of gender [from feminine to masculine], the correct plurals should be: *les rouges-gorges*, *les rougemiles*, *les rougequeues*.

(3) by a preposition and a noun : *des sous-lieutenants*.

In the first case it is sometimes necessary to analyze the idea : it is evident that the noun should remain in the singular when it designates an object which is by its nature singular : *abat-jour* (lamp-shade), *casse-tête* (life-protector, puzzle), *gagne-pain* (livelihood), *passe-temps*, *prie-Dieu*, &c.¹

Inversely, the noun always takes the *s* even in the singular, when the idea of plurality is inherent in it : *un couvre-pieds*² (coverlet), *un essuie-mains* (towel).

Finally, both elements are indeclinable in compounds formed of indeclinable words in set phrases : *des branle-bas* (commotions), *des on-dit* (rumours), &c.

364. PLURAL OF ABSTRACT NOUNS.—In general, abstract nouns do not take the sign of the plural except when used in a concrete sense : *faire des politesses* (acts of politeness), or when they show the idea expressed in more than one aspect : *Il y a plusieurs espèces de libertés, de courages*.

But we must note that Latin had already a tendency to put abstract nouns in the plural : *vitæ, mortes, risus, odia*, &c. This tendency is seen from the earliest periods of the French language :

Et endurer e grans oals e grans freis.

(*Rol. l. 1011.*)

(And to endure great heats and great colds.)

It became accentuated in the classical period. 'It is noteworthy,' says Ménage, 'that poetry, being hyperbolic, delights in plurals, and that plurals contribute not a little to sublimity of speech.' But it was not poets

¹ Note the peculiar exception : *des gardes-chasse* (gamekeepers), *des gardes-malade* (sick-nurses), where the verb is by some changed into a substantive and given the *s* for the alleged reason that it designates a person, a keeper ; *garde* always remains a verb when the composite noun designates an instrument, or an object : *des garde-manger* (mountain-safes), *des garde-robes* (wardrobes).

² The Dict. of the Academy, however, gives *un couvre-pied* without the *s*.

alone who extended this usage; it is almost a characteristic of the prose of the 17th century. We shall only quote three very curious examples from Mme de Sévigné: *Il a des bontés d'Henri IV . . . et des justices de Sylla* (he shows kindnesses [worthy] of Henri IV, and justices, of Sylla) (vi. 208). *Mon fils a des besoins de moi très pressants* (my son has very urgent needs of me) (ii. 505). *Les confiances à un homme qu'on croyait habile* (the reliances on a man who was thought to be clever) (vii. 113).

The writers of the 19th century, without the same regard for nobility of diction, have carried the practice to excess; words whose idea is essentially abstract, such as *abnégation*, *amour propre*, *avidité*, *désespérance*, *désespoir*, *enivrement*, *enthousiasme*, *fanatisme*, *fluidité*, *infélicité*, *inquiétude*, *lassitude*, *probité*, *susceptibilité*, *véhémence*, &c., are constantly used in the plural.

On the whole, the actual boundary which in Old French separated abstract nouns from concrete nouns in respect of number tends more and more to disappear.

365. PLURAL OF CONCRETE NOUNS TAKEN IN A GENERAL SENSE.—Concrete nouns expressing material objects may designate either the genus or the species: in *manger du fruit*, *fruit* designates the genus; in *manger des fruits*, *fruit* designates the species. The language uses genus as easily as species, and this is one of the characteristics of French; we say indiscriminately: *les blés ont réussi cette année* and *le blé a réussi cette année*.

Now, when a material noun (Book II, § 132) forms part of the complement of another substantive we may be uncertain, in the absence of an article, whether it is used in a general or a specific sense: in *gelée de groseille* (red-currant-jelly), should *groseille* be in the singular or the plural? Until the 19th century this problem was left undecided in either sense: the Dictionaries of the Academy for the years 1798 and 1835 give *pdle d'amande* and

d'amandes, gelée de pomme and *marmalade de pommes, un pied d'œillets* and *d'œillet* (a plant of clove-pink). The grammars of the present day have established distinctions which are mostly arbitrary. Usually the sense shows whether we have to deal with genus or species: *de l'eau de rose, un bouquet de roses; il vit de poisson et de légumes* (he lives on fish and vegetables).

When the sense is not apparent, we are at liberty to leave the word in the singular, whatever the grammarians may say. *Des étoffes de toute sorte* is as permissible as *des étoffes de toutes sortes*. And, as a matter of fact, French generally prefers to express the genus rather than the species.

[365 a. DISTRIBUTIVE SINGULAR.

We have a case analogous to the one last dealt with when a substantive designates a number of similar objects belonging or referring singly to each and every one of people or things previously expressed: *les pétales des Renoncules possèdent une écaille à la base* (the petals of Buttercups have a scale at the base). This use is more frequent in French than in English. However, there is often a delicate distinction of idea between the singular and the plural; if it is correct to say *Les soldats français sont armés du fusil Lebel*, which is even preferable to *armés de fusils Lebel*, we can only use the plural in *ils avaient pour chasser des carabines dernier système* (they had rifles of the newest pattern for sport), the former statement involving a more general, the latter a more individual idea. So we say either *mes enfants sont revenus de classe le tablier déchiré*, or *les tabliers déchirés*; but only *ils ont, ils portent, des tabliers déchirés*. The use of the distributive singular and of the plural respectively depends on the shade of thought, to analyze which is often a very delicate task.]

366. NOUNS USED ONLY IN THE PLURAL.—A certain number of substantives in Latin were used only in the

plural. Some of these substantives have passed into French: *annales* (*annals*), *obsèques* (*obsequies*), *ténèbres* (*shades, darkness*). French, like English, has followed the Latin tradition. In general these words express objects which are essentially either plural or collective: *affres* (*terrors*), *armoiries* (*armorial bearings*), *décombres* (*ruins*), *dépens* (*expenses*), *hardes* (*clothes*), *matériaux* (*materials*), *vêpres* (*vespers*).

We must note apart the words in *-ailles*, where it seems that the idea of plurality involved in the Latin type *intraLIA*, *funeraliA*, has introduced the plural into the modern forms: *accordailles* (*betrothal*), *entrailles* (*entrails*), *épousailles* (*espousals*), *fiançailles* (*betrothal*), *funérailles* (*funeral*), &c. Remark, however, that in conformity with phonetic rule these words in Old French have not the *s*: *broussaille*, *entraille*, *funéraille*.

Other nouns are used in the singular in a different meaning from that which they have in the plural: *ciseaux* (sing. *chisel*, pl. *scissors*), *lunettes* (sing. *spyglass, telescope*, pl. *spectacles*), *mouchettes* (sing. *moulding plane*, pl. *snuffers*). In the Old language the plural forms were preceded by the plural of *un*: *unes fourches* (O. F. = *gallows*; *fourche* = *fork*); *uns ciseaux* (*a pair of scissors*); *unes lettres* (Mod. F. *une lettre*, in the sense of *a written communication*; the singular formerly designating only a letter of the alphabet). (Cf. Book II, p. 194, note 1; also below, § 379.)

CHAPTER II

THE ADJECTIVE

367. Uses of the adjective.—368. Agreement of the adjective.—369. Adjective qualifying several substantives.—370. Adjectives which agree irregularly, or do not agree, with the substantive.—371. Agreement of adjectives qualifying other adjectives.—372. Names of colour used as adjectives.—373. Degrees of comparison.—374. Comparative.—375. Superlative absolute.—376. Superlative relative.

367. USES OF THE ADJECTIVE.—The adjective may be replaced (1) by a substantive, without an article, preceded by the preposition *de*: *une maison royale, une maison de roi*; (2) by a periphrase: *la gent trotte-menue* (see Book III, p. 442), *une beauté sans pareille*; (3) by a relative proposition: *des personnes charmantes, des personnes qui charment*.

For the first case, modern usage has established a nearly constant difference in sense between the adjective and the combination of preposition and substantive. In fact, the tendency of the language has been, since its beginning, to use the combination especially as an equivalent of the adjective of kind, employed in Latin, to show (1) the *origin*: *bestiae aquatiles*, Fr. *quadrupèdes d'eau*; or (2) the *material*: *statua argentea*, *statue d'argent*; or (3) the *animal or vegetal species*: *lao asininum*, *lait d'ânesse*; *glandes quernae*, *glands de chêne*; or (4) the *time*: *menses hiberni*, *mois d'hiver*; *dies festus*, *jour de fête*; or (5) the *place*: *pugna Cannensis*, *la bataille de Cannes*, &c. Latin had a great variety of adjective suffixes, all of which disappeared in Popular Latin before *-inum* and *-atum*. Hence came in the Middle Ages a certain number of

adjectives of kind, such as: *chesnin* (*de chêne* = oaken), *fraisnin* (*de frêne* = ash), *ivorin* (*d'ivoire* = ivory), *marbrin* (*de marbre* = marble), *perrin* (*de pierre* = stone), *terrîn* (*de terre* = earthen), *oré* (*doré, d'or* = golden). In the *Chanson de Roland*, side by side with expressions which present the modern usage, as *hanstes* (Mod. F. *hampes* = shafts) *de fraisine et de pumier* (Mod. F. *pommier*) (l. 2537), and *helmes d'aor* (steel helmets) (l. 2540), we find *hanste fraisine* (l. 720), *l'oree bucle* (Mod. F. *la boucle d'or*) (l. 1283). For a long time *l'âge doré* was in use, and we still find in *Malherbe* *l'âge ferré*. On the other hand, the translations of the Latin authors gave currency to a host of adjectives of kind, such as *maritime*, *terrestre*, *canin*, *lupin*, *ovin*, *nocturne*, *diurne*, *virginal*, *servile*, &c. Finally, in the 16th century certain writers, especially Rabelais, attempted to increase the number of these. But their example was not followed; and most adjectives of Learned formation introduced into the language from the 12th century onward have given way to the combination of the substantive with the preposition *de*. Many of the adjectives of kind that have survived have been utilized to express some peculiar shade of expression: we say *du lait de brebis* (ewe's milk), but *la race ovine*; *une poule d'eau* (water-hen), but *la race aquatique*; on the other hand, *une plume d'or* (a feather of gold) and *l'âge de fer* (the Iron Age) exist side by side with *plume dorée* (a golden or gilded feather) and *souliers ferrés* (hobnailed shoes).

The number of adjectives of kind may increase in the language of science; it can only diminish in the current tongue; the creations of certain living writers who wish the language to grow backwards are not likely to last.

368. AGREEMENT OF THE ADJECTIVE.—The Latin adjective agreed with its substantive in gender, number, and case. This rule was followed in Old French, which still possessed two cases. In the Modern language, which has

lost the idea of case, this rule is reduced to the concord of gender and number.

The rule presents two kinds of anomaly: the first concerns the adjective qualifying several substantives; the second concerns certain adjectives that do not necessarily agree with their substantives.

369. ADJECTIVE QUALIFYING SEVERAL SUBSTANTIVES.—

I. When one adjective determines several singular substantives, or several plural substantives of different genders, the Old language, in conformity with Latin tradition, could freely make the adjective agree with one of the substantives, the one nearest. We meet with this freedom even in the writers of the 17th century: *un ordre et un habit particulier* (a peculiar order and habit) (Rac. iv. 405). *Joie et tristesse attachées à la vie* (joy and sadness attaching to life) (id. vi. 213). *Il y a de petites règles, des devoirs, des bienséances attachées aux lieux, aux temps et aux personnes* (there are little rules, duties, and etiquettes pertaining to [different] times, places, and persons) (La Bruy. ii. 95). We still use the legal phrase *certificat de bonne vie et mœurs* for a certificate of good conduct and character. Malherbe was the first to lay down the modern rule: the attributive adjective must be in the plural when qualifying several singular substantives, and in the masculine if these substantives are of different genders. Vaugelas and the Academy both confirmed this theory (though retaining certain consecrated expressions, such as: *le cœur et la bouche ouverte* (open in heart and speech), *les pieds et la tête nus* (bare-head and bare-foot)). We must therefore say:—

Son honneur et sa gloire entiers.

Sa gloire et son honneur entiers.

Des dignités et des titres mérités.

Des titres et des dignités mérités.

Our present grammars also admit some few exceptions, as when the substantives are really synonymous terms, or

when they follow one another directly without a conjunction: *Il a une aménité, une douceur enchanteresse*. But in reality these exceptions are only archaisms.

II. The Old language also had the option of using a single determinant adjective before several substantives, where each seems to require a separate determinant: and it could indiscriminately make this adjective agree with the first of the substantives or with all of them. So, even in the 17th century we have: *La justice, probité, prudence, valeur et tempérance sont toutes qualités qui . . .* (*justice, probity, prudence, valour, and temperance are all qualities that . . .*) (Malh. ii. 98). *L'ingratitude et peu de soin que . . .* (*the ingratitude and little care that . . .*) (id. i. 286). *Ses domestiques, carrosses, chariots et toute sorte d'équipage* (*his servants, carriages, carts, and all kinds of equipage*) (La Rochef. iii. 122). We still say [in legal formulas]: *en mon âme et conscience* (literally translated in Scotland: *on soul and conscience*); *en son lieu et place* (*in due time and place*); *ses père et mère* (*his [or her] father and mother*). But in all other cases the present language imperatively demands the division of ideas and the repetition of determinants with each substantive, e.g. *La justice, la valeur, la tempérance sont &c.*

The same liberty was formerly allowed when two adjectives qualified one substantive so as to designate two distinct things. The Old language used indifferently *la langue anglaise et française* and *les langues anglaise et française*. Modern grammarians have ruled that the adjective takes the law from the substantive instead of imposing it thereon, and that we should say: *la langue anglaise et la française* [or *la langue anglaise et la langue française*].

370. ADJECTIVES WHICH AGREE IRREGULARLY, OR DO NOT AGREE, WITH THE SUBSTANTIVE:—

Autre and **chaoun**. These two adjectives were freely

used in the masculine in the 17th century, even when applying to a woman :

J'étais un peu honteux

Qu'un autre en témoignât plus de ressentiment. (Corn. i. 228.)

(I was a little ashamed that another [woman than I] should display more feeling thereat.)

Monsieur, vous me prenez pour un autre, sans doute. (Rac. ii. 172.)

(Sir, you take me for someone else, no doubt.)

Je marche tout comme un autre. (Sév. vii. p. 365.)

(I walk just like anyone else.)

In the three examples above, *un autre* refers to a woman.
—*Ici les trois princesses prennent chacun un fauteuil* (here the three princesses take each an armchair) (Corn. v. 426). The edition of 1660 changed *chacun* into *chacune*; and this agreement is adopted in modern usage for both *chacun* and *autre*.

Demi. In Old and Middle French *demi* agreed with the substantive, whether it preceded or followed it: *Duze demies heures* (twelve half-hours) (Ph. de Thaon, *Cumpos*, l. 2073). We find numerous examples of this in the 17th century, and La Bruyère still writes: *une demi lieue* (ii. 261). But Vaugelas had already enunciated and gained acceptance of the modern rule that *demi* remains indeclinable when it precedes the substantive [though not when it follows it]. It is hard to explain the reason of this distinction. No doubt there was a confusion with other compounds of *mi* (*mid*) which had become either adverbs or prepositions: *enmi* (*amid*), *parmi*. Besides we find *demi* in Old French sometimes used as an adverb :

Demi Espagne vos vult en feu donner. (Rol. l. 432.)

(Half Spain he wishes to give you in fee.)

Ains eussies allé bien demi lieue a pé. (Gui de Bourgogne, l. 3129.)

(Then you would have gone a good half-league afoot.)

Malherbe, writing *des demi hommes*, and Racine *la demi pique*, *une demi portée*, also doubtless considered *demi* in these instances as the first half of a compound word.

NU. In Old and Middle French *nu* also agreed with the substantive, whether it preceded or followed it. We still find this licence in the 17th century: *elle y alla nus biefs comme toutes les religieuses* (she went there bare-foot like all nuns) (Rac. iv. 509); Marivaux in 1733 still wrote: *Je suis nue tête* (I am bare-headed) (*Marianne*, 3^e partie). It is in Malherbe that for the first time we find an example of the present orthography; he asserts that we may say by elision *nu-tête* and *nu-jambes* instead of *nue tête* and *nues jambes*. Vaugelas and the Academy made this elision obligatory. Like *demi*, *nu*, placed before a substantive, has thenceforward been considered as the first element of a compound word, and, making an integral part thereof, was therefore undeclined. The two exceptions to the rule, *nue-propriété* (ownership in fee-simple) and *nus-proprétaires* (owners in fee-simple), are real archaisms, whatever grammarians may say, who explain the agreement in this case by the fact that *nu* is here taken figuratively.

FOU (late, deceased). This adjective, which in Old French was *fedut*, *feü*, came from *fatutus*, the derivative of the Latin word *fatum* (destiny), (he who has fulfilled his destiny, who is dead, cf. *defunotus*). It originally agreed with the substantive, whatever its place might be. But in the 16th century this word was confounded with the Italian *fu* (from the Latin *fuit* = it has been, it has ceased to exist), used in the same sense, so that they came to write: *le tien fut père*, instead of *le tien fou père* (thy late father). In consequence of this confusion the grammarians of the 17th century decided that *fou* should be indeclinable. Some, however, were more subtle; having noticed in certain authors of importance examples where *fou* happened to precede the substantive and to be declined, they admitted that this so-called adverb should agree with the substantive when it immediately preceded it. Hence the absurd modern inconsistency of writing *fou la reine* and *la foue reine*.

Même. According to the present grammars, *même*, showing identity (in the sense of *same*), is always declinable. When *même* modifies an adjective, a verb, or an adverb (= *only*, *even*), it is not declined. But should it, in the sense of *even*, *self*, correspond to the Latin *ipse*, and expressly designate either the person or object spoken of, the matter is not so simple. When it follows several plural substantives it is not declined. When it follows a single plural substantive it is declined or not, at will, provided the sense would allow it to be placed before the noun. Finally, when it follows a personal pronoun it is always declined. Whence comes this strange multiplicity of rules?

Même was used at will both in Old and Middle French, as an adjective (*same*) and as an adverb (*even*). As an adverb it might take the adverbial suffix *-s* (Book II, § 259) and determine, not only a verb, but also a substantive or a pronoun.

Thus in the 17th century Corneille could write: *Moi mêmes à mon tour* (*even I in my turn*) (iv. 235; corrected in the edition of 1660 to: *Je ne sais plus moi-même*). Vaugelas proposed a distinction for *mesme* used as an adverb. 'When it is with a singular noun,' he said, 'I should like to put *mesmes* with the *s*, and when it is with a plural noun I should like to put *mesme* without the *s*, in each case to avoid ambiguity, and to prevent *mesmes*, the adverb, being taken for *mesme*, the pronoun' (i. p. 81). Thus, according to Vaugelas, we should write: *les choses mesme que je vous ai dites* and *la chose mesmes que je vous ai dite* (*the very things—or thing—I told you*). Consequently, he considered it a solecism to put the *s* when *même* was an adjective and agreed with a noun or pronoun in the plural: *eux-mêmes*, *elles-mêmes*. This odd distinction was not admitted. Boileau still wrote: *des discours mesmes académiques* (*even academic discourses*) (*Ép.* viii. l. 58); and, on the other hand, some poets of the same period, Malherbe and

Racine, for instance, still continued to write *eux-même*, *elles-même* :

Les immortels eux-même en sont persécutés. (Malh. i. 278.)

(The immortals themselves by them are persecuted.)

Va ; mais nous-même, allons, précipitons nos pas. (Rac. ii. 539.)

(Go thou ; but come, let us ourselves hasten our steps.)

But the grammarians of the 18th century, in ignorance of the rule of the adverbial -s, lost their way amid examples which appeared to them self-contradictory ; and, whilst decreeing generally the indeclinability of *même* as an adverb, and the declinability of *même* as an adjective, they failed to establish with precision the distinction between the cases where it is an adverb and those where it is an adjective. Hence the inconsistencies of the present rules.

Quel que ; Quelque. We must distinguish the simple adjective, *quelque*, from the compound adjective, *quel que*. We shall begin with the latter.

I. *Quel que.* The present grammarians distinguish in general (1) a conjunctive adjective *quel que* (*whatever*) in *quel qu'il soit* ; (2) an indefinite adjective *quelque* (*whatever, whatsoever*) in *quelques vains lauriers que promette la guerre* (*whatever empty laurels war may promise*) ; and (3) an indefinite adverb, *quelque* (*however*), in *quelque bons musiciens qu'ils soient* (*however good they may be as musicians*). We shall see that in their history these three constructions have a common origin and do not belong to different categories.

Just as it now uses *tel que*, French originally used *quel que* : this compound adjective, in sense corresponding to the Latin *quicunque, qualiscunque* (*whatever*), being employed in subordinate sentences to express a concession :

Quel part qu'il aille (aille), ne peut (peut) mis cadr (choir).

(*Rel. l. 2034.*)

(Where'er he go, he cannot fall.)

In this construction *quel* is the determinant adjective ; *que* is the relative pronoun (= *that*, which may be found in

analogous phrases: *malheureux que nous sommes; le soit qu'il est*. The adjective *quel*, naturally expressing some doubt about the quality of the subject, involved the use of the subjunctive at an early period¹. This construction, with *quel . . . que*, maintained its vigour during the whole of the Middle Ages, and is met with even in the 16th century:

*Le musc et l'ambre gris par quel lieu qu'elle passe
Laissent d'elle longtemps une odorante trace.*

(Du Bartas, *Judith*, iv.)

(Where'er she passes, musk and ambergris
Long leave behind her a perfumed trace.)

It still occurs in Molière: *En quel lieu que ce soit (wherever it be)* (iii. 92).

But it had become rare in the 17th century; and Vaugelas opposed it: 'If between *quelle* and *que* there are some separating syllables, we must then say *quelque* and not *quelle*: for instance, *quelque enfin que puisse estre la cause (whatever, in fine, may be the cause)*, and not *quelle enfin que puisse estre la cause* (i. 55).'

This construction: *quelque . . . que*, instead of *quel . . . que*, which Vaugelas advocated, had indeed made its appearance in the language at an early period:

En quelque lieu que elle soit. (*Cher. au lion*, l. 4346.)

(Wherever she may be.)

En quelque lieu que il alassent (in whatever place they should go) (Villeh. 13). No doubt it was introduced through the analogical action of those cases where *quel*, not determining a substantive, was immediately followed by *que*: *quel qu'il soit, quelle qu'elle fût*; and also of such not infrequent elliptical constructions as *à quel que peine, à quel qu'ennui, qu'il eût*. Consequently they began to write: *quel que . . .*,

¹ We here and there find the indicative in texts of the Middle Ages: *Et quels bestes que je voloie (and whatever beasts I wanted)* (*Chrest.*, Bartach, 256, 10); *Or chevauchies quel part que vous voules (now ride whithersoever you will)* (*Manuel. de Reims*, § 383).

putting directly after *quel* the pronoun *que*, which was originally separated from it by a substantive.

Quelx que meffais

Cil las de chevaliers au fais. (G. de Coigny, p. 497.)

(Whate'er ill deeds that villain may have done to knights.)

Then arose the habit of repeating the pronoun *que*: *quel-que part que j'aïlle*. In the 17th century this new construction decidedly supplanted the older one¹.

But the latter has left some traces in the language of the present day: (1) *Quel* is still necessarily separated from *que* in the idiom, which is however not much used: *Quel des deux partis que vous choisissiez, vous aurez tort* (which-ever of the two sides you choose, you will be wrong). (2) Although it is next to *que* it is still treated as if it were separate when it is the predicate of the neuter verbs *être, paraître, sembler, &c.* *Quelle que paraisse sa puissance, quelle que soit sa cause* (however may seem his power, what-ever be his cause). In this case Vaugelas would have preferred to write *quelque*.

In all other cases, since the 16th century, *quel* and *que* have formed a single word, *quelque*, which at first, contrary to present usage, took the sign of the plural as well before adjectives as before substantives; of this there are numerous examples:

... et n'oser de ses feux,

Quelques ardents qu'ils soient, se promettre autant qu'eux.

(Corn. vii. 400.)

(And not to dare to hope as much from one's love as they from theirs, however ardent it may be.)

Quelques grands principes qu'on eût à Port-Royal (however high were their principles at Port-Royal) (Rac. iv. 501). *Quelques méchants que soient les hommes* (however wicked men may be) (La Rochef. i. 206).

But the grammarians of the 17th century established

¹ Patru [1604-1681] went further and wished to extend the repetition of *que* to all cases. According to him, just as we say *quelque grand que vous soyez*, we should say *quelque que puisse être la cause*.

a distinction for *quelque* placed before an attributive adjective. Where it refers to both a substantive and its adjective jointly, so as to suggest doubt with regard to either the species or its quality, it is declined.

*Mais, quelques vains lauriers que promette la guerre,
On peut être héros sans ravager la terre.*

(Boileau, *Ép.* i, l. 93.)

(But, whatever empty laurels war may promise, one may be a hero without ravaging the earth.)

If, on the contrary, *quelque* only determines the adjective and indicates degree or extent, in the sense of 'à *quelque point que*,' 'à *quelque degré que*,' it should be treated as an adverb and not declined: *quelque bons musiciens qu'ils soient, ils ne pourront exécuter ce morceau* (however good they may be as musicians, they will not be able to play this piece). This is still the rule at the present day.

II. *Quelque*. Beside *quelque* formed from the determinant *quel*, there is an adjective *quelque* formed from the Popular Latin *qualis quam*, which signifies 'several, some.' It takes the sign of the plural: *quelques-uns*. The grammarians of the 17th century arbitrarily made it an indeclinable adverb when it precedes a numeral, pretending that *quelque* has there the sense of the adverb 'environ' (about): *quelque dix mille hommes* (some ten thousand men). But it is not rare to find a concord in the great writers even in this sense: *quelques soixante ans* (Rac. ii. 163).

371. AGREEMENT OF ADJECTIVES QUALIFYING OTHER ADJECTIVES.—In Old and Middle French every adjective qualifying another adjective or a participle, instead of remaining indeclinable and being treated as an adverb, was declined in gender and number as if it determined a substantive, as in: *une femme demie morte* (a half-dead woman), *des œufs durs cuits* (hard-boiled eggs), *des perdrix fraîches tuées* (fresh-killed partridges), *des oignons menus hachés* (fine-chopped onions), &c. Of this practice Modern French has only retained *fleurs fraîches écloses* (freshly-opened

flowers), *fenêtres grandes ouvertes* (*windows wide open*), *ils arrivent bons premiers* (*they arrive well in front*). In nearly all other cases the adjective is indeclinable.

A strange rule was made for *nouveau*, which is considered as an adverb in *une fille nouveau-née* (*a new-born girl*), and as a declinable adjective in *les nouvelles converties* (*the new [female] converts*), *une nouvelle mariée* (*a bride*), *les nouveaux venus* (*the new-comers*), under the pretence that in the latter cases the participles are true substantives. In reality these expressions are archaisms like *fleurs fraîches écloses*, &c.¹

Of adjectives used in this way *tout* calls for special notice.

Tout. When connected with an adjective or a participle *tout* (= *altogether, entirely, quite*) at first followed the common rule and was declined both in gender and number. Such was still the usage of most writers in the 17th century: *Pour moi j'étais toute ébaubie* (*as for me, I was quite thunder-struck*) (Sév. vii. 222). *C'est toute la même chose* (*it's all the same thing*) (ibid. 22). There was, however, some uncertainty. In Racine, when *tout* relates to feminine adjectives or participles, it always agrees: *toute écorchée* (*all bleeding*) (v. 588), *toute interdite* (*all dismayed*) (iii. 491); when it relates to masculine plural adjectives or participles it sometimes agrees with them, sometimes not:

Tes yeux ne sont-ils pas tous pleins de sa grandeur? (ii. 387.)

(Are not thine eyes all full of its greatness?)

Vous êtes en des lieux tout pleins de sa puissance. (ii. 287.)

(You are on a spot all full of his power.)

Also in La Bruyère we find: *des habits tous . . . neufs* (*clothes quite new*) (i. 44) side by side with *deux personnages tout différents* (*two quite different persons*) (ii. 103); and *une*

¹ We must distinguish from these expressions, which are juxtaposites, such expressions as *aigre-doux* (*acidulous, 'bitter-sweet'*), *dair-obscur* (*chiar-oscuro*), *ivre-mort* (*dead drunk*), where both adjectives are declined. Here the two adjectives do not qualify each other; they are in apposition and equally qualify the substantive with which they are connected.

île toute entière (a whole island) (ii. 131) side by side with *choses tout opposées* (things quite contrary) (ii. 148). In fact Vaugelas and most of the grammarians had ruled that *tout* placed before an adjective and signifying 'tout à fait' (quite, altogether, entirely) was an adverb, and consequently they endeavoured to make it indeclinable.

In the masculine singular *il est tout aimable, il est tout gracieux* (he is quite, or altogether, amiable, graceful), the pronunciation afforded no distinction between the adjective and the adverb, and *tout* was regarded as an adverb. Again, in the corresponding plurals of the 17th century, *ils sont tous aimables, ils sont tous gracieux* (they are altogether amiable, graceful), pronunciation made no difference between the adjective and the adverb before a word beginning with a consonant, which is the more frequent case (both being then pronounced *tou*); hence people came to write: *ils sont tout gracieux*; then the rare case, where the following word began with a vowel, took the law from the commoner: *ils sont tout aimables* replaced the earlier form. This is how *tout* in the masculine was changed into an adverb.

For the feminine, Vaugelas still followed the old practice: *elle est toute aimable, elles sont toutes aimables: elle est toute gracieuse, elles sont toutes gracieuses*; and other grammarians tried in vain to alter it. It was in the 18th century that the indeclinability of *tout* grew up in the case where it precedes a feminine adjective beginning with a vowel: in *elle est toute aimable, elles sont toutes aimables*, no difference of pronunciation was at that time made between *toute* the adjective and *tout* the adverb, and henceforward *tout* was substituted in this case for *toute* and *toutes*.

But the new theory was powerless before the well-established pronunciation of *toute* before an adjective or participle beginning with a consonant, as in *toute gracieuse, toutes gracieuses*, and the grammarians, unable to alter custom in this point, have given the far-fetched explanation

that, if the adjective *tout* was declined in this instance, it was for the sake of euphony.

However, some excellent writers have defended the old tradition against the arbitrary rules of grammarians, and we find instances of *tout* in the adverbial sense declinable down to the 19th century.

372. NAMES OF COLOUR USED AS ADJECTIVES.—The modern language readily uses nouns denoting objects as indeclinable adjectives to designate colours or tints. Their indeclinability may be explained by ellipsis¹.

A.—A common noun representing an object possessing colour is used in apposition and becomes directly an adjective of colour: *robe lilas*; *étouffe feuille-morte* (*lilac dress, dead-leaf material*).

B.—Similarly a common noun is used as an adjective with another adjective of colour to determine more precisely its shade: *ruban brun-marron* (*chestnut-brown, maroon, ribbon*), *soie orange-clair* (*light orange silk*).

C.—An adjective of colour is accompanied by a second adjective to determine its shade more precisely; and in this case the first adjective of colour is treated as a substantive, and neither is declined: *une robe vieux-rose*, *la soie brun foncé*¹ (*a dull-pink dress, dark-brown silk*)².

373. DEGREES OF COMPARISON.—I. Although adjectives alone by their nature admit of degrees of comparison, we not infrequently meet with substantives taking the sign of the comparative or superlative. This is also quite natural, since apposition may convert them into true adjectives: *les plus gens de bien auront l'âme ravie* (*the most upright people will be delighted in their souls*) (Corn. ix. 303). *Un très homme de bien* (*a very upright man*) (Rac. vii. 136).

[I a. Adverbs of manner, which so frequently have the

¹ *Traité de la Formation des Mots Composés*, ed. 2, p. 143, note 3.

² *But de la soie brune.*

same form as adjectives, are subject to the same syntactic rules in respect of degrees of comparison.]

II. Philosophical grammarians forbid the use of the comparative and superlative of adjectives expressing absolute ideas, either (1) concrete, such as *carré, circulaire, triple, quadruple*, or (2) abstract, as *divin, éternel, excellent, unique, parfait*, &c. This is to confuse logic and grammar¹. If the writer uses these adjectives in a relative sense he may allow them degrees of comparison: *mon plus unique bien* (*my most unique treasure*) (Corn. iii. 288); *l'auteur le plus divin* (*the most divine author*) (Boil. *Art poët.* i. l. 161). We say currently *plus parfait, plus impossible*.

III. Synthetic comparatives and superlatives themselves in time may often lose their primitive value, and come to be considered as simple positives; they are then some times preceded by the sign of the comparative or superlative. In Old French we find *plus haucor* (*haucor* being the comparative of *haut*); in the modern popular language *plus meilleur* and *plus pire, plus supérieur* and *le plus supérieur*, are used.

374. COMPARATIVE.—In Latin the object of comparison was construed in two ways. Either (1) the object was directly united to the comparative and put in the ablative case: *dootior Petro* (*more learned than Peter*); or else (2) the object was connected with the comparative by the conjunction *quam*, and was put in the same case: *dootior quam Petrus*.

Both constructions passed into Old French.

In the former the ablative was replaced by a periphrase with the preposition *de*: *plus savant de Pierre*:

Meillor (meilleur) vassal n'ot (n'eut) en la cort (cour) de lui.
(*Rol.* l. 775.)

(No better vassal had he in the court than him.)

¹ Thus Malherbe condemns this line of Desportes:

Je sors des Dieux le plus aîné.

(I am the eldest-born of the gods.)

This construction, applied to the object of any comparative, and especially to personal pronouns, subsisted until the first half of the 16th century: *Homme de moy plus grand* (Marot, 486); *nul mieux de toi* (*none better than thou*) (du Bellay, ii. 419). Thenceforward it was only preserved in the case of numerals depending on a comparative: *plus d'un* (*more than one*); *il a moins de vingt ans* (*he is under twenty years of age*).

The second construction: *plus savant que Pierre*, where *que* (= *than*) represents the Latin *quam*, has subsisted intact down to the present day.

Hereon we must make certain observations:

1. Where the object of comparison is the object of a verb, or is a verbal phrase, Latin says *without* a negative: *dootior quam putas* (*more learned than you think*); French says *with* a negative: *plus savant que vous ne pensez, plus vite qu'il ne marche* (*more learned than you think, quicker than he walks*).

Such has been the usage since the earliest periods of the language, which expressed by this negation the consequent negative idea which is implied: *tu ne penses pas qu'il est aussi savant* (*you do not think that he is so learned*).

The Modern language, since the 17th century, has to some extent reduced the use of the negative; and at the present time there is a tendency to suppress it altogether: in careless style and familiar speech it is almost completely ignored: *plus savant que vous pensez*.

Several cases of analogous uses of the negative must be considered:

A. When the second term of the comparison consists of two nouns, Old French joined them by *ne*:

Plus est isnele (vif) qu'espervier ne aronde (épervier ni hirondelle).
(*Rel. l. 149a.*)

(He is more prompt than kite or swallow.)

We find this negative in the 17th century in the form *ni*:
il ne reste plus à parler que des choses qui servent plus aux

délices qu'à la nécessité ni au profit (*I have only now to speak of matters which serve rather for pleasure than necessity or profit*) (Malh. ii. 19).

Patience et longueur de temps

Font plus que force ni que rage. (La Font. i. 163.)

(Patience and length of time

Do more than strength or anger.)

But Racine (vi. 355) regarded as incorrect the sentence of Vaugelas in his translation of Quintus Curtius : *la fortune plus puissante que la raison ni la bonne conduite* (*fortune, more powerful than reason or good conduct*); and the present language replaces this negative by *et* or by *ou*.

B. So also, where we should now use as the object of comparison either a substantive, or any other word without a negative, Old French introduced the negative, and that often with the help of the verbs *être* and *faire*:

Plus est isnel (vif) que non (n'en) est uns falcons (un faucon).

(Rol. I. 1529.)

(He is more prompt than is a falcon.)

Plus curt (court) a piet (pied) que ne fait uns chevaux. (Id. I. 890.)

(Swifter he runs afoot than doth a horse.)

Both in Middle French and in the 16th century the object of comparison is accompanied by *pas* or *non pas*, or by *point* or *non point*:

Pource que je confesse avoir plus estudié a rendre fidelement ce que l'auteur a voulu dire que non pas a orner ou polir de langage (*for that I confess to have studied rather to render faithfully what the author has wished to say than to adorn or polish my language* (Amyot, *Dédicace des Vies*). This construction was still in general use in the 17th century; it is often met with in Molière and Racine. Vaugelas thought it very graceful, and himself wrote : *J'aimerais mieux dire 'il vesquit' . . . que non pas 'il vescu'* (*I had rather say 'il vesquit' . . . than 'il vescu'* [Mod. F. *vécut*]) (i. 196). Shortly after it was finally banished from the language by the Academy.

2. After *mieux*, in the sense of 'plutôt' (*rather*), the Old language generally suppressed the negation in the completing phrase; but, unlike present usage, it employed the subjunctive:

Mais vœil (mieux vœux) morir qu'entre païens remaigne.

(*Roll. I. 2336.*)

(I'd rather die than that it should with pagans remain.)

This is the Latin construction: *potius quam remaneam, remaneas, remaneat*. After Middle French we find the infinitive: *J'aime mieux mourir que rester*, or *que te, le, voir rester*.

3. In certain cases the conjunction *que* has a double function (= *than that*), for instance in: *je ne demande pas mieux qu'il vienne* (*I ask nothing better than that he should come*). This phrase is really incorrect.

We say: *je demande qu'il soit mon ami*; in this case *que* is the conjunction (*that*) which serves to introduce the phrase completing the wish of the verb *demande*. Consequently, in the phrase *je ne demande pas mieux qu'il vienne*, *que* serves at the same time (as *than*) to introduce the object of the comparative *mieux*, and (as *that*) to introduce the completing proposition of the verb *demande*. The complete construction would be: *je ne demande pas mieux que qu'il vienne*. *J'ameroie mieus qu'un Escos venist d'Escosse et gouvernast le pueple dou roiaume loialment . . . que que tu le gouvernasses mal apertement* (Mod. F. *j'aimerais mieux qu'un Écossais vint d'Écosse et gouvernât le peuple du royaume, &c.*—*I would rather that a Scot came from Scotland and governed the people of the kingdom uprightly . . . than that thou shouldst govern it manifestly badly*) (Joinv. 21).

375. SUPERLATIVE ABSOLUTE.—The superlative absolute is a compound of the positive with a prefixed adverb of degree. We saw (Book II, § 190) that Old French used for this purpose a number of adverbs which gave way to *très*, and that this is still in most frequent use, although

bien, extrêmement, fort, &c., are also employed. We may add the adverbs of familiar speech *fameusement* (*gloriously*), *joliment, rudement* (*jolly, awfully*), *ultra-, supra-*.

We must note also in Old French the construction of the positive with the preposition *sur*¹ (*above*) and as its object *autres, tous, &c.* :

Sur los (tous) les autres (autres) est Charles anguissos (Charles angoissé).
(*Roll.* l. 823.)

(Charles is grieved above all the rest.)

This construction was retained down to the 17th century :

*Mes petits sont mignons,
Beaux, bien faits et jolis sur tous leurs compagnons.*
(*La Font.* l. 422.)

(My little ones are the daintiest,
Finest, best made, and prettiest of all their companions.)

There is a similar existing use of *entre* : *c'est une chose injuste entre toutes* (*it is the most unjust of things*).

376. SUPERLATIVE RELATIVE.—(i.) The superlative relative is formed by the comparative preceded by the definite article or some other determinant : *les plus beaux jardins*. In the presence of another determinant, such as the possessive pronoun, the article is suppressed ; and French does not say, like Italian : *i miei più belli giardini* (*les miens plus beaux jardins*), but *mes plus beaux jardins* (*my finest gardens*).

This construction of the superlative relative may cause an apparent confusion with the comparative ; analysis alone can show if we have to deal with a superlative or a comparative in sentences like this : *les plus savants triomphent* (*the most learned triumph*), and *les plus savants*

¹ It occurs, also, as a pleonasm joined with the comparative : *E sur autres plus délectable* (*he is more charming than [all] others*) (*Chron. des ducs de Norm.* 1, l. 36). The construction recalls the *praeter ceteros* or *prae ceteris* of Latin. *Praeter* and *prae* were replaced by *super* ; we find in Suetonius : *famocissima super ceteras* (*most infamous of all*). It is not rare to find this construction with the comparative in Latin.

trionphent des ignorants (the more learned triumph over the ignorant).

(ii.) We must distinguish two cases of the superlative relative : (*A*), where the adjective precedes the substantive, and (*B*), where it follows it.

A. The adjective precedes the substantive.—The article in this case determines both the adjective and the substantive. In *la plus belle chose*, *la* not only changes *plus belle* into a superlative, but also determines *chose*. Hence it follows that the substantive qualified by a superlative relative is always determined.

B. The adjective follows the substantive.—The modern construction, *la chose la plus belle*, *les choses les plus sérieuses*, where the article is repeated before the comparative, was only introduced into French in the 15th century, and was only definitively recognized in the 18th. In spite of Vaugelas and the Academy, most writers of the 17th century still used the older construction, *la chose plus belle* :

Chargeant de mon débris les reliques plus chères. (Rac. ii. 519.)
(Loading the dearest remnants of my ruin.)

The same applied to *plus* and *moins* accompanying a verb : *la chose du monde qui pouvoit plus gagner le Pape* (the thing most likely in the world to win the Pope) (id. iv. 455). *Les discours moins sérieux plaisent plus aux enfants* (the least serious speeches please children most) (id. vi. 303). The repetition of the article in such cases (i. e. *les plus chères*, *le plus gagner*, *les moins sérieux*) which the language has gradually imposed is due to a keener and more delicate analysis of thought, to the wish to distinguish more clearly the idea of the superlative, and avoid the tendency to a confusion with that of the comparative. This construction offers another advantage, in that it allows the application of the superlative relative to undetermined

nouns : *un ouvrier le plus habile du monde* (a workman the most skilful in the world).

(iii.) When several superlatives follow each other, at present each adjective takes the article and adverb as the sign of the superlative. The 17th century still admitted that the first adjective alone should bear the sign of the superlative : *la plus grande et importante chose du monde a pour fondement la foiblesse* (the greatest and most important thing in the world has for its foundation weakness) (Pascal, *Pens.* i. 82).

Vaugelas tolerated this ellipsis only in cases where the adjectives were synonymous terms : *il pratique les plus hautes et excellentes vertus* (he practises the loftiest and most excellent virtues) ; but he wishes us to say : *c'est l'homme le plus riche et le plus libéral* (the richest and most liberal man), where the adjectives are not synonymous terms (ii. 257). The Academy and the other grammarians condemned the ellipsis even in the case of synonymy, and their decision still holds good. This change of practice arose from the same cause as the preceding one, the desire to distinguish the form of the superlative more and more clearly.

(iv.) Modern grammarians distinguish the neuter superlative *le plus* (indeclinable, = *most*) from the masculine or feminine superlative, singular or plural (*the most*), *le plus, la plus ; les plus, les plus*. Compare *la rose est la plus belle des fleurs ; c'est au matin que la rose est le plus belle* (the rose is the most beautiful of flowers ; it is at morn that the rose is most beautiful). This distinction, like the two preceding ones, is the work of grammarians of the 17th century, and it was far from being observed by all the writers of that period. *Je les ai faits les plus courts que j'ai pu* (I made them [the 'asides'] the shortest I could) (Corn. iv. 137) ; *il faut se servir au théâtre des vers qui sont les moins vers* (in the drama you must use verses that are as little verse as possible) (id. v.

309). *Vous me retrouverez toute entière comme dans le temps où vous avez été la plus persuadée de mon amitié* (you will find me wholly the same as when you were most convinced of my friendship) (Sév. viii. 371). *La personne du monde qui m'est la plus sensiblement chère* (the person who is most tenderly dear to me in all the world) (id. iii. 335).

CHAPTER III

NUMERALS

377. Cardinal numbers.—378. Ordinal numbers.

We were obliged to discuss the syntax together with the morphology of numerals (Book II, §§ 135-139), as we did in the case of nouns substantive; so that we shall have few observations to add now.

377. CARDINAL NUMBERS.—I. We have seen (Book II, *General remarks*, p. 201) that in compound numerals formed by addition the component elements were originally joined by the conjunction *et*, which was definitively lost only in the 18th century: *trente deux, soixante seize*; and that it persisted as an exception before *un* in *vingt et un, trente et un*, &c., in *soixante et onse*, and in certain consecrated expressions.

II. Cardinal numbers are not declined in the plural. *Trois un de suite font III*. For the apparent exception of *uns* used as an indefinite article before a singular noun of plural form, and also *les uns*, see Book II, p. 194, and Book IV, §§ 366, 379.

However, *vingt, cent, and mille* offer some peculiarities.

Vingt and *oent* multiplied by a preceding number regularly took the *s* of the plural in Old French as well

as in the Modern language: quatre-vingts, trois cents. Until the 18th century this agreement was admitted even when *vingt* and *cent* were followed by the addition of another numeral: *Une armée de trois cents mille hommes* (La Bruy. i. 370). The editions of the Dictionary of the Academy of 1762 and 1798 retained *neuf cents mille*. Why did the grammarians of the 18th century suppress the agreement in this instance and make a rule which was condemned as well by logic as by the traditions of the language? They considered, no doubt, that the parts of the number merged into the unity of the whole, as indicated by the dropping of the conjunction *et*. This point of view is erroneous. The *cent* is as much determined by *trois* in *trois cent quatre* as the substantive by the numeral in *trois maisons, quatre jardins*; and the dropping of the conjunction *et* should no more prevent the expression of the plural than in such expressions as *point virgule* (= full stop and comma = semicolon), with the plural *points virgules*.

Mille. We have seen (Book II, § 136, p. 199) that the Old language distinguished *mil* (singular) from *mille* (plural): *od mil de mes fedeils* (Mod. F.: *avec mille de mes fidèles*; *with a thousand of my faithful*) (Rol. i. 84); *vint mille homes* (id. i. 13). *Mil* has been retained in the numeration of years of an era, because it is there, of course, always used in the singular. In other cases the plural form prevailed, being in more frequent use.—*Mille*, as we have also said (p. 228), is the only surviving fragment of those neuter plurals that existed in the Old language; it has therefore remained indeclinable, save when it is used as a substantive (= *mile*): *trois milles d'Angleterre* (*three English miles*). However, it is not rare to find *mille* with the sign of the plural as an adjective in the Old language: *Nos ferons uissiers à passer quatre milles et cinc cens chevaux* (*we will make vessels to transport 4500 horses*) (Villeh. 14). The grammarians of the 17th century also

remark the tendency of their time to decline *mille*, especially before a noun beginning with a vowel.

III. In Old French a numeral formed of unity joined to a higher number, such as *vingt et un*, did not make the substantive which it determined agree in the plural: *Trente un an regnad en Jerusalem (thirty-one years he reigned in Jerusalem) (Quat. Liv. Rois, p. 422). Vingt et un an tot (tout) accomplis avait (he was full twenty-one years of age) (Chron. des d. de Norm. l. 39271)*. Such was the usage in the 16th century; Palsgrave lays down that one should write *vingt et un homme*. In the 17th century the concord was doubtful; on the one hand they retained the singular in the evaluation of price and time: *vingt et un écu, vingt et une semaine*; but the plural was accepted in other cases: *vingt et un chevaux, vingt et un volumes*¹. Since then the intimacy of the union between the two component parts of the number has become closer, and the substantive is now always made plural, agreeing with the number as a whole. Thus Modern French has solved the question which was left undecided in the 17th century, and considers the compound adjective of number ending with *un* as equivalent to a simple adjective.

IV. In Latin, to express a considerable indefinite number (as in the English use of *scores, hundreds, thousands*), *centum, mille*, and mostly *sexcenti* (*six hundred*) were employed. In Popular Latin *quingenti* (*five hundred*) was also used. It is doubtless to the use of the last phrase that we can trace back the indeterminate expression so frequent in Old French, *cinc cens*²: *cent* and *mille* were

¹ Vaugelas (i. 246) says that the Court hesitated, since it said *vint et un an* and *vint et un chevaux*. They did not perceive that *an* was written by mistake, because it did not differ in pronunciation from *ans*. When consulted on this point, the Academy declared in favour of *vingt et un an accomplis*.

² We may also note the former use of *tant*, considered as a substantive, to express the unit multiplied preceded by any cardinal number whatever as a multiple (without *fois*): *deux, trois, cent tant que nuls ne pourroit*

also used. The Modern language has added *millions*, which it sometimes multiplies by *mille* in oaths: *mille millions de tonnerres!*

378. ORDINAL NUMBERS.—I. In the Modern language the *cardinal* is used for the ordinal in citing dates, pages of books, the order of succession in certain series, &c. Thus 1847 = *mil huit cent quarante-sept*; page 17 = page *dix-sept*; Henri III = *Henri trois*. In the Old language this use was almost unknown, and is hardly met with, except in dates of years. The custom of reading ordinal numbers as they are written (see Book II, p. 201) extended this use, which definitively triumphed in the above cases at the end of the 17th century. Corneille still said: *le neuvième de Janvier* (Mod. F.: *le neuf janvier*); La Bruyère: *Henri second, Louis onzième* (Mod. F. *Henri deux, Louis onze*). The proper use of the ordinal in these cases has only partially survived in *premier*: *Henri premier, tome premier, page première* (side by side with *tome un, page un*).

II. For *vingt-quatrième* in place of *vingtième quatrième*, see Book II, p. 204.

dir. The modern practice in expressing the comparison with a multiple uses *plus que*, with the insertion of the negation in a verbal complement according to the general use of the comparative (§ 374, 1): *deux, trois, cent fois plus qu'on ne pourrait dire* (= 'twice, thrice, a hundred times as many as, or more than, you could say').

CHAPTER IV

THE ARTICLE

879. The article.

I. THE DEFINITE AND THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE.—380. Article with names of persons.—381. Article with names of nations.—382. Article with geographical names.—383. Article with concrete common nouns.—384. Article with abstract common nouns.—385. Article with nouns as attributes.—386. Omission of the article in negative and interrogative propositions.—387. Article with substantives accompanied by adjectives.

II. THE PARTITIVE ARTICLE.—388. The partitive article.—389. Partitive article with a determinate substantive.

379. THE ARTICLE.—The article in French appears under three different aspects: the definite article, the indefinite article, and the partitive article.

The definite article arose, as we know (Book II, § 199), from the Latin demonstrative ille; we saw how the gradual weakening of its signification has reduced its function to that of merely individualizing the noun following. Although Merovingian Latin offers a fair number of examples of ille with this new function, in the *Oaths of Strasburg* it was not used once. It might well have occurred in one sentence at least: *Si Lodhuwigs sacrament que son fradre Karlo jurat conservat* (Mod. F. *si Louis [le] serment, que à son frère Charles jura, conserve*; if Louis keep the oath which he swore to his brother Charles); possibly the omission is due to the scribe. In the *Séquence de Sainte Eulalie* the article is used several times, even in some cases where Old French may omit it, as will be seen below: *li Deo inimi*.

(*les ennemis de Dieu*), l. 3; *les mals conseillers* (*les mauvais conseillers*), l. 5; *la polle* (*la jeune fille*), l. 10; *le nom christien*, l. 14, &c. Thus in the 9th century the use of the definite article was consecrated and was destined only to spread.

The indefinite article, which is used to indicate an indeterminate object, was in the singular taken from the numeral adjective *unus*, *una*, (*un*, *une*), which from the 5th century had here and there acquired the sense of the Latin *quidam* (*a certain*). The first instance of *un* in an indefinite sense is furnished by the *Séquence de Sainte Eulalie*: *ad una spede* (*avec une épée*), l. 22. But the use of the indefinite article was far from spreading as rapidly as that of the definite article; and this is easily understood, as it could originally more easily be dispensed with. It was only from the 17th century that its use became general.

For the plural of the indefinite article (with the sense of *some*) Old French sometimes used the plural of *un*, especially in the case of pairs or sets of objects, or nouns only used in the plural form (cf. Book II, p. 194, note 1; and § 366 above). *Uns*, *unes*, were at an early period replaced by the contracted article *des*, and only survived in the expressions *les uns . . . les autres*, *les unes . . . les autres*.

The rules for the use of the definite and indefinite articles being nearly the same, we shall study them together.

The partitive article, on the contrary, being formed by the article preceded by the preposition *de*, and serving to note that an object is not considered as a whole, but in some indeterminate part, requires separate consideration.

L. The Definite and the Indefinite Article.

380. ARTICLE WITH NAMES OF PERSONS.—Individuality being the very characteristic of names of persons, they

may dispense with the article in Old French as well as in Modern French, save in certain cases :

1. From the 16th century Italian family names (often gallicised) have taken the article: *l'Alighieri*, *le Corrige*, *le Tasse*. But it is a mistake to write (according to present practice): *le Dante*, *le Guide*, *le Titien*, which are not in reality family names, but individual ones.

2. In the 16th century the definite article was also often used to designate well-known personages: *le Camille*, *le Tantale*, *la Niobé*, *l'Hélène*; thus giving the article the emphatic value of the Latin demonstrative adjective *ille*, *Alexander ille* (*the Alexander*). The article seems to have the same sense in this sentence of Madame de Sévigné: *J'en demande pardon au Bourdaloue et au Mascaron* (*I ask pardon of the [great] Bourdaloue and Mascaron* (ii. 100). In like manner the article is now used before the names of celebrated actresses and female singers: *la Champmeslé*, *la Malibran*.

On the other hand, even in the 17th century the article placed before the name of a person came to show either familiarity or a shade of disdain, if not contempt. This tendency has become accentuated in the present language. In popular and country talk, however, the practice only implies familiarity [as in German].

Down to the 17th century they continued to say: *le Lazare*, *la Magdelaine*. As for *Lazare*, it may originally have been treated as a common noun, owing to the adjective *laser*, later on *ladre* (*leprous*); in *la Magdelaine*, *la* has a demonstrative value, as in *la Niobé*, &c.

3. When the name of a person is used as a common noun it naturally requires the article: *le Mécène est l'appui des Muses* (*the Maecenas [= literary patron] is the support of the Muses*); *la Vénus de Praxitèle*; *l'Agrippine et la Cléopâtre de l'histoire sont différentes de celles du théâtre* (*the Agrippina and the Cleopatra of history are different from those of the stage*).

4. A great number of names of persons which were originally common nouns or surnames have retained the definite article: *Claude le Lorrain* side by side with *Claude Lorrain*. Thus it is that many names of persons, generally those denoting a nationality, have a double form: *Allemand, Lallemand; Breton, Lebreton; François, Lefrançois, &c.* They retain the article even when preceded by another article: *un Lefrançois, les Lefrançois*. La Bruyère was wrong when he wrote: *ces gens chez qui un Nautre (= Le Nostre, a celebrated gardener) va tracer et prendre des alignements (those people to whom a Le Nostre goes to trace and draw lines)* (ii. 258).

381. ARTICLE WITH NAMES OF NATIONS.—Old French generally omitted the article before names of nations in the plural¹, especially in the nominative case: *Dient* (Mod. F. *disent*) *François (the French say)* (*Rol.* l. 192); *Sarrasin ne sont mie doutés (the Saracens are no whit dismayed)* (id. l. 1186). To these we must add the words *Chrétiens, Païens*, which were treated as proper nouns. The rule of the omission of the article applied even when an adjective accompanied the noun. The practice tends to disappear from the 12th century, and by the 16th it is scarcely found except in poetry.

382. ARTICLE WITH GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.—Until the 13th century names of countries and towns were used without the article, and the same rule applied to mountains and valleys; only names of rivers of the feminine gender took the article. From the 13th century we find uncertainty in the matter, save with regard to names of towns which were originally formed from common nouns, such as *Le Havre (the haven), Lamothe (the mound), &c.*

¹ But when the name of a nation was used to designate a single individual the article was absolutely required: *Co dist li Sarrasins (this said the Saracen [envoy])* (*Rol.* l. 147); *envoier al Sarrasin (send to the Saracen [Sultan])* (id. l. 253).

Since the 17th century, names of rivers have definitely received the article, although Corneille still wrote *le Passage de Loire* (x. 106), Racine, *les bords d'Asopus* (vi. 215), and Boileau, *de Styx et d'Achéron* (*Art poët.* iii. l. 285)¹, and we continue to say *Bar-sur-Aube*, *Nogent-sur-Seine*, &c. The same applies to names of mountains.

As for names of countries, they have remained subject to numerous inconsistencies: we have *histoire de France* side by side with *histoire littéraire de la France*, *l'empereur d'Autriche* side by side with *l'empereur du Japon*:

<i>Il vient d'Italie</i>	but	<i>il part pour l'Italie</i>
<i>Il va en Chine</i>	„	<i>il arrive à la Chine</i>
<i>Il est en France</i>	„	<i>il est au Mexique.</i>

We may note, however, that the omission of the article with the prepositions *en* and *de* is an archaism that is seldom found save with such names of countries as have long been current in French².

383. ARTICLE WITH CONCRETE COMMON NOUNS.—Since the origin of the language concrete nouns have been preceded by the article. This rule has been and is still subject to various exceptions:

1. Certain substantives of characteristic unity have been and are still treated in the language as if they were proper nouns.

Thus the word *Dieu* only takes the article when it is accompanied by a determinant: *le Dieu de nos pères*, *les faux dieux*. In the 17th century Pascal and Bossuet, in conformity with an old usage, used, the one *Messie*, the other *Christ*, without an article (Mod. F. *le Messie*, *le Christ*). The locutions *Diable m'emporte si*, *Diable soit de vous*,

¹ If we say *eau de Seine* (for *Seine-water*) it is less an archaism than a locution formed by analogy with *eau de source*, *can de puits*; it is a kind of compound word.

² [Names of places in the plural always take the definite article: *dans les Indes*, *les États-Unis*, *les Voages*.]

take us back to a period previous to the 16th century, from which time *diable* has been definitely used with the article. Malherbe still said *frappé de foudre* (i. 22). The Old language used the same construction with *jour*, *nuit*, *soleil*, *ciel*, *terre*, and *roi*, the last only when referring to the actual sovereign of the country; hence the long-used locution, *lieutenant de roi*.

To these words we must add the religious terms *messe*, *vêpres*, *complies*. Malherbe writes: *Je fus hier ouïr messe aux Jacopins* (I went yesterday to hear mass at the Jacobin church) (iii. 546); we may still say: *attendez que vêpres sonnent, sortir de vêpres; chanter complies*.

We may point out the uncertainty in the use of the definite article before the letters of the alphabet employed as substantives; we say either *A*, or *l'A*, *se prononce la bouche ouverte* (*A is sounded with the mouth open*).

Such expressions as *remuer ciel et terre, il ne voit ni terre ni mer*, cannot be included in the same category. The absence of the article here comes from its suppression in the Old language before each of two substantives united by a conjunction, though it was expressed before either substantive when isolated. It is thus that *lune*, although regularly used with an article in Old French, drops it in *soleil et lune, soleil ni lune* [cf. English *Heaven and Earth, Sun and Moon, man and wife, &c.*].

2. Substantives designating periodical phenomena such as the seasons, the months, the days, the parts of the day, and certain festivals, may be used without an article. The present language employs the article for the names of seasons, but continues to omit it for the days of the week, ecclesiastical seasons, &c.: *il viendra lundi, midi sonne, demain matin, lundi prochain, Avril a été chaud, Noël approche, Pâques est tard cette année, &c.* [but *l'Avent = Advent*]. [Perhaps we may place here the use of *déjeuner, dîner, souper*, as indicating fixed times of the day, with the prepositions of time *avant, après.*]

3. When the concrete substantive designates, not an individual or an object of a particular species, but the species itself, both Old and Middle French (like English) omitted the article. There are numerous examples in the writers of the 16th century: *Tabourins a nopces sont ordinairement battus: tabourineurs bien festoyez* (labors at weddings are generally beaten: labor-players well feasted) (Rabel. ii. 324). This practice of omitting the article before the concrete noun taken in a general and indeterminate sense has not entirely disappeared from the language, which, however, is reluctant to use it save in negative and interrogative propositions (§ 386). In the instance of *souvent femme varie* we have a very old proverbial saying preserved unchanged. On the other hand, when the noun is the object of a verb or preposition, the absence of the article is very frequent in the Old language (as in English), and the Modern language has retained many traces of this use: *lâcher pied, fermer boutique, rendre gorge, perdre de vue, sortir de table, aller en bateau, aller par mer, aller à cheval*, &c. In many cases the introduction of the article would change the sense of the expression and take away its character of generality and indeterminateness. Thus *aller en bateau* = to go by boat, to go boating; *aller en un bateau* = to go on a boat; *sortir de table* = to leave table; *sortir d'une table* = to get up from a table.

4. The article is omitted before certain concrete nouns when used as subjects in narrative expressions:

Grenouilles aussitôt de sauter dans les ondes. (La Font. i. 173.)
(The frogs at once jumped into the waves.)

384. ARTICLE WITH ABSTRACT COMMON NOUNS.—For the same reason as common nouns taken in a general or indeterminate sense (§ 383, 3), abstract nouns have been but slowly affected by the article. Proverbs, which for the most part may be traced back to a remote period of the language, afford numerous examples of the absence of the article:

Pauvreté n'est pas vice, Noblesse oblige, Contentement passe richesse, Plus fait douceur que violence, &c. True, the absence of the article may be due to a personification of virtues and vices, which, as we are aware, was a frequent process during a certain period of French literature. But, apart from proverbs, the words *nature, foi, amour, fortune*, and many others designating either states or feelings, were long used without an article. Since the 17th century, analogy with concrete nouns has triumphed and introduced the article, leaving, however, numerous exceptions where abstract nouns, like concrete nouns taken in a general sense, are objects of verbs or, more especially, of prepositions: *avoir courage, prendre patience, prendre peur, prendre soin, avoir faim, courir risque, entendre raillerie (take a jest), trouver moyen, tenir tête (hold one's ground), mettre fin, &c.*; *agir par intérêt, par peur, manquer de courtoisie, tirer de peine (set free from trouble), mettre en peine (give trouble), être en danger, en peur, donner en récompense, entrer en possession, &c.*

These expressions, which offer a sense of unity to the mind and resemble compound words, were very numerous in the Old language; expressions such as *avoir temps, loisir, permission; faire guerre, oraison, récit; donner réponse, victoire; rendre mal, bien; dire raison, vérité, &c.*, were current. They were still in constant use in the 17th century:

Il vous assure vie, et gloire et liberté. (Corn. v. 584.)

(It promises you life and glory and liberty.)

... dût-il m'en coûter trône et vie. (id. vii. 243.)

(... should it cost me throne and life.)

On the other hand, we sometimes suppress the article in cases like '*rendre service*' where it was used in the 17th century: *Rendons-lui du service* (Corn. i. 400).

385. ARTICLE WITH NOUNS AS ATTRIBUTES.—I. After neuter verbs of being, becoming, seeming, *être, devenir*,

paraître, &c., a noun denoting an attribute generally has no article; we say: *il fut, il devint roi; il est père de quatre enfants, il paraît vainqueur*. Nevertheless, we may say: *cet homme est un ouvrier*, as well as: *cet homme est ouvrier*.

2. With an attributive substantive in simple apposition there are two cases to be considered.

A. The attribute precedes: *le roi Charles*. Usage appears to have been at first uncertain. We find in the *Chanson de Roland*: *li reis (le roi) Marsilies, la reine Bramimunde*, side by side with: *reis Marsilies, reine Bramimunde*, &c. From the 12th century the article was generally used. However, certain nouns denoting title, social rank or position or condition, or a relationship, such as *roi, empereur, comte, dom, clerc, maître, prêtre, mère, sœur, tante*, continued in general to be used without the article. Modern use preserves some traces of this ellipsis: *Dom Mabillon, Frère Guillaume, Sœur Hyacinthe*. *Sultan* may also dispense with the article, as in the time of Racine and La Fontaine.

B. The attribute follows. In this case the use of the article has been general from the origin of the language, and is so still: *Denys le tyran, Arcésilaus le philosophe*, &c. However, we now say: *Alexandre Dumas père, Alexandre Dumas fils*, whereas in the 18th century they said: *Racine le fils*.

386. OMISSION OF THE ARTICLE IN NEGATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PROPOSITIONS.—In a negative or interrogative proposition, conveying an indeterminate idea, the article before the indeterminate substantive is generally omitted:

Jamais contre un tyran entreprise conçue

Ne permit d'espérer une plus belle issue. (Corn. iii. 391.)

(Never did enterprise against a tyrant planned

Give hope of a fairer issue.)

On ne voit âme qui vive (one sees not a living soul). Y a-t-il

au monde homme qui? Où trouver meilleur conseil? It is to this influence of the negation that the substantives *pas*, *point*, *nue*, owe their change of signification and function. If the article had clung to them they must have remained substantives.

Sans, in this connexion, behaves as a negative: *Il est sans amis; il est sorti sans chapeau*; if any determinant is used with the substantive after *sans* it must be a very definite one: *Il est sorti sans son chapeau*. However, we say: *il est sans le sou* (*he hasn't a penny*), a turn which is absolutely exceptional, and due, no doubt, to the requirements of euphony.

We notice also the absence of the article in comparative sentences, such as *plus heureux que roi*, or *que prince*, which are felt as true negative propositions (see §. 374). However, as the negative is not apparent here, the occasional addition of the article is intelligible: *plus heureux qu'un roi*.

387. ARTICLE WITH SUBSTANTIVES ACCOMPANIED BY ADJECTIVES.—We must here distinguish the cases of the definite and the indefinite articles respectively.

I. Definite article.—The language has used from its origin the article before nouns accompanied by a qualificative, save when a proper name was habitually joined to an adjective, as in the epic word-groups: *belle Aude*, *douce France*, *Charlemagne*, &c. So also *Saint*, preceding a personal proper name, excluded the article: *Saint Léger*. We have preserved this usage as well as the use of *feu* without the article: *feu Toupinel* (*the late Toupinel*) (p. 583).

[The article is dropped before certain adjectives accompanying a proper name to designate a member of a family, such as *aîné*, *cadet*, *jeune*: *Coquelin cadet*; *Froment jeune* et *Risler aîné*. This is possibly by analogy with the locu-

tions with the substantives *père, fils, &c.* (§ 385, B). Such adjectives may become nicknames or surnames (Book III, p. 186).]

II. *Indefinite article*.—The use of the indefinite article before a substantive accompanied by an adjective is by no means strictly observed. The Old French usage of dropping the article when the substantive is either a true nominative, or a grammatical nominative after a neuter verb governed by the logical subject *ce (it)*, has no doubt been abandoned. *Bon chien chasse de race, c'est grand dommage*, and *c'est chose fâcheuse*, are archaisms. Since the 17th century we say: *Un grand malheur est à redouter. C'est une triste chose, &c.*

But, where the substantive is the predicate or object of either a verb or a preposition, the present language often suppresses the article, especially when the adjective precedes the substantive, as in: *vous êtes bon fils, je vous trouve honnête homme, en pareille occurrence, en vilaine posture, être de mauvaise humeur*; whereas Molière makes Alceste say: *J'entre en une humeur noire* (*I fall into a black mood*) (v. 449). Examples such as *mourir de mort violente, de mort naturelle*, where the article is omitted when the adjective follows, are archaisms, these idiomatic expressions having remained in the language unchanged.

As in Old and Middle French, the adverb of comparison *si (so)* may also exclude the article: *vous aviez si pileuse mine* (*you had so pileous an air*). *Je vous ai trouvé en si misérable état* (*I found you in so miserable a state*).

Finally, certain adjectives require special comment.

Tout. In Old French the article might be omitted with *tout* in the plural; this usage is exemplified in *la Toussaint* (= *la [fête de] tous [les] Saints*); *toutefois* (= *toutes voies*) (*however, anyhow*); *tous deux, tous quatre*, side by side with *tous les deux, tous les quatre*. In the singular the article was not so often omitted. In Malherbe, however,

the ellipsis of the article, even in the singular, is fairly frequent, and such expressions as *par toute terre, en tous pays*, often occur in the 17th century.

Originally, according to the Latin tradition, which placed the determinant between *totus* and the substantive (*totas illas terras*), the rule was to place the article between *tout* and the substantive which it determines; and this usage persists where the article is supplied: *tout un siècle, tout le monde, tous les mois, toutes les femmes*.

Mi. Old French also put the article between *mi* (*mid*), which was an adjective, and its substantive: *par mi un val erbos* (*through a grassy vale*) (*Rol.* l. 1018), *par mi la bouche* (*through his mouth*) (*id.* l. 1763). So now the preposition *parmi* (*amid*) requires that its object (which must be a plural, or at least a noun of multitude) should be preceded by the article.

Même (as an adjective) and *seul* in Modern French assume, as we know, different meanings according as they are put next the article or separated from it: *même* separated from the article means *self*, following it, means *same* (p. 584). *Seul* may even take three different places: *seule l'équité* (*only equity*), *l'équité seule* (*equity alone*), *la seule équité* (*equity alone*). These distinctions are all quite modern.

II. The Partitive Article.

388. THE PARTITIVE ARTICLE.—The special use of the article preceded by the preposition *de* scarcely became regular in the language before the 15th century. Old French used *manger pain, manger fruits*, as well in the sense of bread or fruit in general as in the sense of a certain portion of bread or fruit.

However, even in Old French we already find a construction which contains the germ of the modern partitive article. Side by side with *edere panem*, Low Latin had created the phrase *edere de pane*, where *de* has a clearly

partitive sense : *manger de pain*. It was this elliptical construction that was destined to give rise to the partitive article. We still say at the present day *manger un peu, beaucoup, asses, trop—de pain* ; and in negative sentences : *il ne prend pas de vin, il ne prend point de pain* (*he takes no wine, no bread*). Then, as in these constructions the object is mostly determined, the article made its appearance : *manger du pain* = *to eat of the bread [here], that is a part of the bread [here]*.

This construction once introduced, the article combined with the preposition—*du, de la, des*—was applied even to indeterminate objects : *manger du pain* (*to eat bread [in general]*), *boire de l'eau, acheter des livres*.

Lastly, its use was gradually extended so as to affect a great number of constructions which seem to have no right to it. In fact, it was extended not only to direct objects, but also to indirect prepositional objects and to nominatives : *travailler pour de l'argent, réussir par des efforts, se promener avec des amis, du courage est nécessaire, des gens sont venus*. But, where the substantive takes no article, e.g. the indefinite noun *aucun*, then we have the preposition *de* alone : *d'aucuns prétendent* (*certain people affirm*).

There is only one case where the language was obliged to renounce, not only the combination of the article with the partitive preposition *de*, but even the preposition itself: it is when the object is led up to by the preposition *de*, for instance when an intransitive verb takes *de* before its indirect object : *se nourrir de* = *to feed on*. We say *manger du pain, se nourrir avec du pain*, but *se nourrir de pain*. The combination *de + du*, as in *de du pain*, was unacceptable.

The partitive article occurs both before names of objects which can be counted : *acheter des livres* ; and before names of objects which cannot be counted, or which appear from the sense of the sentence not to be counted : *boire de l'eau, manger des fruits*. In the last case *des*

corresponds to a singular *du*: *manger du fruit*; but in the first case it corresponds to a singular *un*: *acheter un livre*. This curious result shows an indeterminate noun in the singular corresponding with a determinate noun in the plural; in other terms, a definite article *des* has become the plural of the indefinite article *un*.

389. PARTITIVE ARTICLE WITH A DETERMINATE SUBSTANTIVE.—We must distinguish between the cases where the substantive is in the plural and in the singular respectively.

I. Plural.—In the 17th century the language still used the partitive article when the adjective was placed before the substantive as well as after it: *Des grosses larmes lui tomboient des yeux* (*great tears were falling from his eyes*) (Sév. ix. 532). *Vous aurez passé sur des petits ponts* (*you will have passed over little bridges*) (id. ii. 205). But Vaugelas and the other grammarians already condemned the use of *des* in cases where the adjective precedes. The partitive article has here given way in general to the simple preposition *de*: *de petits enfants* (= *little children*), *de grandes filles* (*big girls*); but, when the adjective and the substantive unite to form a true compound noun, *des* is used: *des petits enfants* = *grand-children*, *des grands parents* = *grand-parents*, *des jeunes gens* (*young men or young people*), *des jeunes filles* (*girls*), *des petits maîtres* (*dandies*), *des beaux esprits*, &c.

On the other hand, the partitive article has persisted when the adjective follows: *des maisons neuves*, *des enfants obéissants*.

It is very intelligible that the article should have persisted in the latter case, because when the adjective follows the substantive it forms an apposition; it is, in fact, a predicate separated from the substantive by certain terms of a true proposition understood: *des livres précieux* means *des livres qui sont précieux*. Therefore, as regards

the article, there can be no difference between *acheter des livres* and *acheter des livres précieux*.

Why, on the contrary, was the article dropped when the adjective precedes? Why do we say *acheter des livres* and *acheter de précieux livres*? It is not only, as was pointed out by Father Bouhours in the 17th century, to avoid ambiguities such as *un livre plein des bons mots de Lucien* (= a book full of Lucian's witticisms, or a book of Lucian full of witticisms); it is also because the language, in a broader spirit of analysis, considered the adjective itself a sufficient determinant. In *acheter de précieux livres* the adjective *précieux*, by determining *livre*, renders unnecessary the presence of the article as a second determinant, although it was used in Middle French and in the 17th century.

II. *Singular*.—When the substantive determined is in the singular, the same distinction was adopted by the grammarians of the 17th century; but the dropping of the article is only strictly enforced when the substantive is taken in a general sense:

Il a du pain excellent (He has some excellent bread).

Il a d'excellent pain (He keeps excellent bread).

Il boit de l'eau claire (He is drinking cold water).

Il boit de bonne eau (He drinks good water).

Should the substantive be taken in a particular sense, we use the article even when the adjective precedes: *Je veux boire de l'excellent vin qui est dans votre cave* (I want to drink some of the excellent wine in your cellar).

Note, however, that the popular language has not yet admitted these distinctions, which are rather subtle, although necessary for clearness of style; the people continue to say: *il a des grandes filles, je veux boire du bon vin*.



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